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Henry Clark

The plays of
Beaumont and
Fletcher

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Beaumont and
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WITHDRAWN

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# THE PLAYS
## *of Beaumont & Fletcher*

*Published under the Auspices of* THE ELIZABETHAN CLUB *of Yale University on the Foundation Established in Memory of* OLIVER BATY CUNNINGHAM *of the Class of* 1917, *Yale College.*

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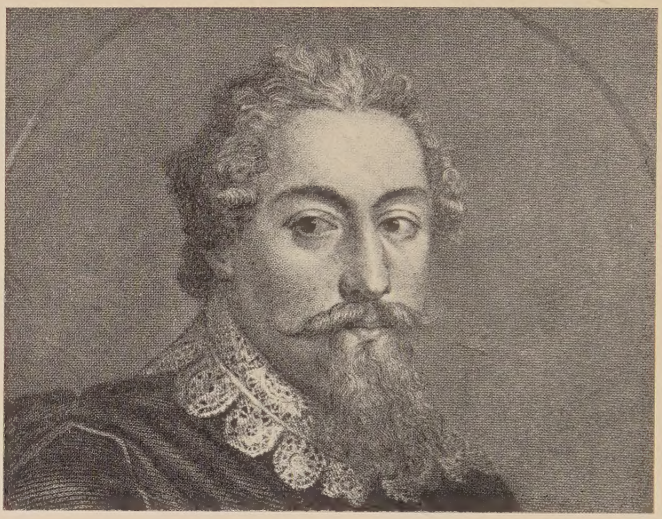
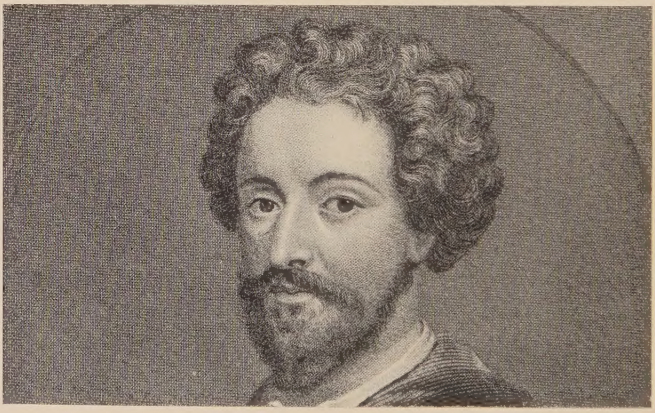


*Francis Beaumont*



*John Fletcher*

# THE PLAYS
# OF
# BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER

AN ATTEMPT TO
DETERMINE THEIR RESPECTIVE SHARES
AND THE SHARES OF OTHERS

BY
E. H. C. OLIPHANT

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## *Prefatory* Note

*THE author's first examination of the entire body of "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays was made in or around the years* 1889-90. *Though in the intervening years he re-examined many of the plays, he did not make a complete study of them again till in or about* 1914-15. *Since then he has studied yet a third time every play of the authorship of which a new view has been put forward. In the majority of cases he has seen in this third examination no reason to depart from the view he had previously formed, save as regards the following:* The Fair Maid, The Honest Man's Fortune, The Laws of Candy, *in every one of which the views of later critics have induced him to change his opinion; and* The Bloody Brother, Cupid's Revenge, Love's Cure, Love's Pilgrimage, *and* Wit at several Weapons, *in which, without any extraneous aid, he has seen fit to vary his assignment. With these exceptions, then, the opinions expressed are such as they would have been had the work been given to the world in* 1915-16—*so far, that is to say, as concerns the fifty-five plays listed as Fletcher's in the original articles.*

*The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Professor R. A. Law and to various good friends at*

*the University of Texas—Drs. D. T. Starnes and T. P. Harrison, and Messrs. D. A. Snellings, H. Adams, and H. W. Taylor—for help accorded in the always arduous and devastating work of proof-reading; and to Professor Tucker Brooke for bringing the work to the notice of the Yale Elizabethan Club, under whose auspices it is published.*

## *Bibliographical* Note

THE opinions of other scholars who have attempted to solve the problem of the authorship of any considerable number of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays are to be found in the following works:


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CRUICKSHANK, A. H. *Philip Massinger*, 1920.

SYKES, H. D. *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, 1919.
Articles in *Notes and Queries*, 1920-22.
*Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama*, 1924.

Baldwin, T. W. *Edition of Philip Massinger's Duke of Milan*, 1918.
Chelli, M. *Le drame de Massinger*, 1923.

Many of the quoted views of Sykes, William Wells, and W. J. Lawrence have not previously been published, and I am greatly indebted to those distinguished scholars for the permission accorded me to avail myself of them. I have also to make acknowledgment of similar kindness on the part of Mr. Bertram Lloyd; and I am under an especial debt of gratitude to Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum for complying with my request to make a study of the manuscript of *The Faithful Friends* and for freely giving me his views upon it.

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# THE PLAYS

## of *Beaumont & Fletcher*

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### *INTRODUCTION*

IN the years 1890 and 1891 there was published in "Englische Studien" (henceforth to be called, for brevity's sake, "E. S.") a series of articles in which I attempted to solve the problem of the various plays known under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher. This present work embodies not only so much of that work as I care to retain, but also the results of another examination of those plays after a lapse of about a quarter of a century. It may seem unduly vain to suppose that any one will be sufficiently interested in my views to care to read a revision of them; but the fact remains that they have been very widely read and commented upon (with approval and with disapproval); and I am encouraged to think that the publication of the results of my later study may be worth while by the fact that an examination shows that my allotments in the plays as to the authorship of which critics are generally agreed have been more frequently accepted than have those of any other writer who has sought to solve the problem. It is true that, where I have announced the presence of authors whose participation had not previously been

discovered, my views have not generally won acceptance; but that is not surprising when one considers that original views are seldom looked upon with favor and that mine are almost entirely based on appreciations of poetical cadences that are practically incapable of exact proof.

I felt, too, that, whether interesting to others or not, it would be interesting to myself to see how my views as an elderly man differed from those I had put forward when in my twenties. The youthful scholar has the defects and the virtues of youth. He necessarily lacks the sound basis of knowledge that is to be expected in the older scholar, and, perhaps because of his comparative ignorance and inexperience, is more confident of the correctness of his judgment; but, on the other hand, he has a greater freedom from prejudice, and his mind is more receptive of ideas. If his courage run to rashness, the older man's caution reaches to timidity.

The chief objection to a revision such as I have undertaken is that common failing of mankind which makes one unwilling to acknowledge that he has erred; and, even where one is reasonably free from that failing, he may in such a case as this be hampered by his prejudices, since he may, with the fairest intentions in the world, feel an irresistible impulse to prove himself to have been right. The danger of this tendency I set myself to overcome by making this examination entirely independent of the other and then comparing the resultant view with the published one. The views here given are, then, the results of this examination checked by subsequent consideration of the views expressed in "E. S."

One great disadvantage of a publication of revised

views is that where they differ from the earlier ones they to some extent cast discredit on *all* the investigator's previous findings, and invite the ridicule of those who never venture to dissent from accepted views. I am well aware of this risk; but, as my object is not the winning of a cheap success by putting forth opinions that I know will be approved, and is not to bend facts to my previously stated opinions, but to ascertain the truth, I have not let myself be deterred by that or any other consideration. As I am ready to acknowledge that I was wrong in some of my earlier judgments, so I am prepared to admit the likelihood of my being at fault in some of these later ones; and I shall not be guilty of expecting general agreement with me on what are mere matters of individual opinion. As in the "E. S." articles, I cannot, for various reasons, state as fully as I should like to do the grounds of my determinations. These are mainly, it may be remarked, matters of style, of melody, of turns of phrase, of sentence-building. It is perhaps worth while to mention that some of the corrected views here put forward are in accord with determinations come to many years ago (indeed, nearer the date of the original articles than that of my general reëxamination of the plays) but never published.

## *My Predecessors.*

AT the time when my original article was written there were many people, who, having fully made up their minds that the work of the great "twin stars" of the drama was not separable, looked on any attempt in that direction as utterly quixotic and absurd; but

even then such separation had been shown to be not impossible. Though most of the editors of the poets' collected works had, after making one or two nervous and half-hearted guesses, practically given up all attempt at division, F. G. Fleay, in his "Shakespeare Manual" published in 1876, showed that the difficulties in the way were not insurmountable. His results were tested and corrected a few years later by Robert Boyle; but no one else, prior to 1890, made any scientific effort to prove the correctness or incorrectness of Fleay's views; although, in "Francis Beaumont, A Critical Study" published in 1883, G. C. Macaulay tried to sift out the plays in which the younger writer had a hand. He did not, however, deal with those known to have been produced after the death of his author.

The investigations of Fleay and Boyle were fortunately made from rather different standpoints. Fleay[1] trusted mainly to metrical tests; Boyle principally, so far as Massinger was concerned, to the repetition of well-worn phrases. Macaulay based his division on broader grounds, which, though probably less reliable than Fleay's verse-tests, were in all likelihood more convincing to the ordinary reader. As for metrical tests, they are not less unduly decried than unduly lauded. If

[1] Justice has never been done to the industry and cleverness of Fleay, or the value of the work done by him; but for much of this neglect and inappreciation he has himself to blame. He mixes up fact and theory in a very perplexing manner, so that we hardly know how much to take of what he offers us; and, owing to his readiness to jump at conclusions and to form opinions on quite inadequate grounds, he is not always reliable; but when the utmost has been said that can be said against him, the fact remains that no one of our time has shed more light on out-of-the-way points in the history of the Elizabethan drama, or done better work in criticism of the non-æsthetic kind.

we trust believers, we must regard their use as having no limitations, results based on them as being infallible; if unbelievers, we must consider them utterly valueless, and faith in them a mark of "a mind diseased." For my part, I cannot believe that, because a scene contains 20 per cent run-on lines, 5 per cent double endings, and 3 per cent weak endings, therefore it must belong to the writer whose figures approximate most nearly to those figures, for, in point of fact, verse-statistics are frequently misleading; but, on the other hand, when one finds the verse of some scenes in a play showing certain marked characteristics, and that of other scenes wanting in all those characteristics, it seems to me the height of foolishness to deny that there we have tolerably good evidence of a dual authorship. With regard to these plays, I cannot trust any division of them that has no better warrant than the proof afforded by verse-tests; and especially I object to any such ascriptions of scenes to authors other than the very few *known* to have had part in any of them; but I do think such tests give on the whole confirmation of the correctness of views based on knowledge of the general style of the various dramatists. The plan adopted on my first examination of the plays was to divide them on broad general grounds, giving particular consideration to the rhythmic qualities of the verse, as it struck me in reading: the counting I relied on only for verification. In order that my investigations should be conducted as independently as possible, I in every case finished my study of a play, and made my division, before consulting Fleay, Boyle, or Macaulay, and then reread those scenes with regard to which I differed from any one

of them. That I attained something like impartiality by this means, and was not wedded to my own views, is evidenced by the fact that, on reperusal, I frequently confessed myself in the wrong. I claimed then that my opinions were worthy of consideration where they differed from those of the other examiners of these plays, because of the care I had exercised; and that in cases of my agreement with them they had strong independent proof of the correctness of their surmises; and I think the reader will grant this when he considers that my conclusions were reached by a different path from that trodden by either Fleay or Boyle.

## *Scholarship and Guesswork.*

FLEAY and Boyle were, then, my only predecessors in this field. Since that time, not a single scholar has published on the subject any work of similar scope. The late A. H. Bullen traversed a good deal of the ground, but very briefly, and leaning heavily on Boyle; Professor A. H. Thorndike dealt ably with a few plays in his "Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher upon Shakespeare"; the late Professor R. M. Alden, in the Beaumont volume of the Belles-Lettres Series, and Professor C. M. Gayley, in his "Beaumont, the Dramatist," considered with excellent judgment and sanity the plays in which they deemed it possible for Beaumont to have had a hand; Dr. A. H. Cruickshank has confined his attention to the presence of Massinger; Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes has treated of Field and Webster and Massinger's presence in various plays; and others have expressed views regarding single dramas; but no one has

surveyed the entire field save in the perfunctory way in which the work has been done for certain literary histories. Thus the late G. C. Macaulay, who had done good work in his "Francis Beaumont," produced in his article in the "Cambridge History of English Literature" work that consisted of little more than a blind acceptance or an equally blind rejection of the views of those who had preceded him, with much assertion and little argument. I shall present his views here, as I shall do those of Fleay and Boyle, Bullen and Thorndike, Gayley and Alden, Sykes and Cruickshank; but they are not worthy of the same consideration, especially in consideration of the fact that he has told us, as plainly as any one can do, that his examination of the plays has not been conducted on any scientific principles. When he shows that he considers that the discovery of the presence of a writer for whose authorship there is no external evidence can be due only to guesswork, one feels that he is destitute of the qualifications for the solution of the problem of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, the authorship of almost every one of which has to be determined ultimately by the internal evidence. He himself declares the authorship of certain plays by writers for whose presence there is not the slightest external evidence, and it is not an unfair inference that in such cases he is guilty of the guessing which so afflicts his soul.

It may further be remarked that of the guesswork which Macaulay denounces and practices there is no more in distinguishing between different periods of writing than there is in distinguishing between different writers. Revision is often, if not always, distinguish-

able from coöperative work; and even an investigator who does not find it so must at least recognize that frequently it is impossible as a mere matter of date for two writers recognizable in a play to have worked together. If, *e.g.*, the hands of both Beaumont and Shirley are observable, there is no guesswork whatever in asserting that Shirley was a reviser and not one of the original writers. There is, indeed, no room for guesswork in an investigation such as this; and no one is justified, if he can discern no differences between, say, Fletcher and Middleton, in supposing that no differences exist. A blind man might as well deny that it was possible for any one to see.

Akin to this is the folly of assuming that judgment comes into play only where the authorship of a play is known. If one can recognize a writer's touch only when one knows it to be present, one's discriminative powers cannot be very considerable. It is like refraining from prophecy till the time for prophecy has passed. And if it be wrong to detect the touch of a writer for whose presence there is no external evidence, is it not equally wrong to fail to recognize the touch of one for whose presence there *is* such evidence? One who argues thus ought, to be consistent, to deny Fletcher and Massinger's authorship of *Barnavelt* and affirm Shakespeare's authorship of *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *The London Prodigal*. But consistency has no chance against prejudice. Thus Macaulay, who objects to the attribution of any work to an author for whom there is no external evidence, sees Fletcher in *Barnavelt*, where there is no external evidence for him whatever, while denying his presence in *Love's Cure*, where there is

such evidence, and apparently has no idea that there is any inconsistency in his attitude. What he is doing is, in fact, to accept what he thinks most scholars have accepted, and to reject what he thinks most scholars have rejected. Such a mental attitude leads only to stagnation. It may steer clear of follies, but it will certainly never make any discoveries.

## *Conservatism and Radicalism.*

WHEN, some years ago, I wrote for the "Modern Language Review" a number of articles on the bulk of plays constituting the Shakespeare canon, I urged that such examinations must be free from preconceived notions and that where a play was attributed to Shakespeare the question for the investigator to ask himself was not so much, "Is there any reason to question the attribution?" as, "Would this seem to me to be Shakespeare's were there no external evidence to that effect?" Let the conservative, the academic, the devotional attitude of mind prevail, and we might as well accept tradition: one to whom it seems reprehensible to look at questions with clear eyes and an open mind ought not to undertake investigations of this (or, for the matter of that, of any) character.

Let it not be supposed that I am desirous of denouncing the conservative habit of mind in such investigations as this. Far from it. That type of mind is very necessary to counteract the perhaps too great readiness of the radical temperament to overthrow the traditional view. But there are many scholars of this type who seem to find it impossible to be conservative without

being intolerant or offensive toward those whose mental attitude is independent. It is to such intolerance and offensiveness that objection is to be taken. The class of critic I refer to allows his prejudice to run him into injustice, and shows that he considers his impermeability to new ideas to be a symptom of mental superiority. Scholastic intolerance is only too common. If it must exist, let it be reserved for those who, daring nothing themselves, fling envenomed darts at those who do dare. The thinker is deserving of respect whether his attitude be as conservative as that of any of a dozen distinguished Elizabethans who might be named or as radical as that of Mr. J. M. Robertson. The one type of scholar who is worthy of contempt is he who, having no ideas of his own, writes slightingly of every new idea emanating from any but his own immediate circle.

It comes, for instance, with a peculiarly bad grace from Sir Edmund Chambers to denounce Fleay as an empiric and to sneer at his "pseudo-scholarship." For one whom it is possible to class rather as an antiquarian than as a scholar (though his work is of the greatest value to scholars) thus to assume superiority over an investigator who possessed the perceptive faculty which Chambers so conspicuously lacks is amusing, but is also irritating. Fleay was often rash; but he had the courage of his convictions, and the courage to alter them when he became convinced of their falsity. Sir Edmund Chambers has never shown such courage. It is possible to go through his massive work on the Elizabethan stage without learning his view regarding the authorship of any of the many plays with which he deals. He never ventures to dissent from the view of the majority. Other his-

torians have acted similarly without arousing resentment: what causes resentment in the case of Chambers is that, blindly accepting the views of the majority, he permits himself the luxury of a sneer as regards any other views. Similarly, while one is not justified in objecting to his disbelief in the value of verse-tests, one may reasonably object to his accepting them only when it suits himself to do so or in cases where the general body of students approve. Sir Edmund Chambers' attitude in regard to questions of authorship in Elizabethan drama is near akin to the conventional idea of morality—that anything is right if only a sufficient number of people hold to it.

In writing thus I hope I shall not be accused of having any personal quarrel with Sir Edmund Chambers. I have none, and have no particular reason to object to any mention he has made of my work. His "Elizabethan Stage" is a mine of facts with which the scholar cannot dispense. If he had confined himself to facts one would have nothing but gratitude for his achievement. The gratitude might extend also to the many admirable inferences he draws from facts, were it not for his unpleasant habit of demanding the strongest proofs of views not held by himself, while failing utterly to perceive the frequent lack of basis for his own beliefs, which are generally traditional. He evidently, and no doubt quite rightly, has a profound distrust of his capacity to discriminate between the different writers of the era he deals with; but he need not therefore assume that no one is capable of such discrimination. Despite his self-distrust, he has ventured on a separation of the Shakespeare from the non-Shakespeare portions of *Ti-*

*mon* and *Pericles;* but that is doubtless because all scholars agree that in each of those plays another hand than Shakespeare's is present. I think I am right in saying that of the plays dealt with here the only one on which he has expressed an opinion is *Henry VIII;* and that is only half an opinion.

## *Attitude toward External Evidence.*

STUDENTS of Elizabethan drama may be divided into two classes, excluding those (and they still exist and call themselves scholars) who scout internal evidence and ridicule the possibility of differentiating between the various dramatists of the time. Deaf or tone-deaf people may be unable to distinguish between Beethoven and Debussy; but there is a difference nevertheless. Persons who take up such an attitude are putting themselves on the intellectual level of those who, because they are unable to comprehend how it is possible to measure stellar spaces, pronounce astronomers to be either knaves or self-deluding fools. I am not concerned with such folk, but with the two classes of student who really count. The one makes the external evidence subordinate to the internal; the other reverses the process. I range myself with the latter. If I find myself arriving at a view that is in opposition to the external evidence, I consider very carefully the value of that evidence, and, if I find it strong, and irreconcilable with my opinion, I conclude that I am mistaken. That seems to me the right attitude, because there is naturally more finality about the best class of external evidence than about evidence which is the product of

individual knowledge and outlook and feeling. The weakness of the internal-evidence extremists is that they set up their own inferences against concrete facts. However strong the internal evidence may be, it is after all only a matter of deduction: because the style of a play, the literary form, the vocabulary, the phraseology, the dramatic technique, the characterization, the philosophy, the outlook on life, are characteristic of a certain writer, we assume his authorship. It may be a thoroughly sound assumption; but if we find another author credited with the drama on the impeccable authority of a contemporary, or claiming its composition in a dedication to it in its published form, we shall not be justified in holding fast to our assumption. It is, of course, a different matter if the external evidence can be shaken, if it prove on examination to be peccable; but there is always a danger that the investigator may magnify its weaknesses in order to prove his view to be correct. One sees that tendency displayed very markedly by students of the other school to which I have referred. I have tried to avoid that danger; and, not belonging to that school, I think I have succeeded. Whether I have or not is for my readers to judge.

## *The Two Folios.*

THE first collected edition of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher was issued in 1647 with a title-page as follows:

> Comedies and Tragedies, written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, gentlemen. Never printed before, and now published by the authours originall copies. Si quid habent veri Vatum præsagia vivam. London, Printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the three

Pidgeons, and for Humphrey Moseley at the Princes Armes in S$^{t}$ Pauls.

In an address by the stationer to the readers Moseley claimed, quite truly, that not one of the plays included in the volume had ever previously been printed. He further asserted that the volume contained "not anything spurious or impos'd." "I had the originalls," he says, "from such as received them from the authours themselves; by those and none other I publish this edition." That may or may not be true. The third claim was probably made in good faith; but it does not follow that it is correct: in fact, it certainly is not correct. Here it is: "As here is nothing but what is genuine and theirs, so you will find here are no omissions; you have not only all I could get, but all that you must ever expect. For (besides those which were formerly printed) there is not any piece written by these authours, either joyntly or severally, but what are now publish'd to the world in this volume. One only play I must except (for I meane to deale openly); 'tis a comedy called the Wilde-goose Chase, which hath beene long lost, and I feare irrecoverable."

The fourth claim made by Moseley may be regarded as open to much question: "When these comedies and tragedies were presented on the stage, the actours omitted some scenes and passages (with the authour's consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a copy they then (and justly too) transcribed what they acted. But now you have both all that was acted and all that was not, even the perfect full originalls without the least mutilation." And further Mose-

ley tells readers, "It was once in my thoughts to have printed Mr. Fletcher's workes by themselves, because single and alone he would make a just volume: but, since never parted while they lived, I conceived it not equitable to seperate their ashes." (This should be enough to free Moseley from the charge of deliberate dishonesty that has been recklessly brought against him for putting Beaumont's name to a volume containing many plays with which he had nothing to do.) Finally, in a postscript, he states that "some Prologues and Epilogues (here inserted) were not written by the authours of this volume, but made by others on the revivall of severall playes." That is a fact well worth bearing in mind.

The first folio contained 34 plays and a masque. The second, issued in 1679, is styled "Fifty comedies and tragedies," but actually contains 52 and the masque, the additional matter consisting of seventeen plays printed in quarto before the publication of the first folio, as well as *The Wild-goose Chase*, which had been found and given to the press in 1652. The booksellers (John Martyn, Henry Herringman, and Richard Mariot) claimed that they gave "all both tragedies and comedies that were ever writ by our authors," and perhaps thought they were telling the truth, as they were not. They were probably unaware also that one of the plays they included had been claimed by Shirley as his after its publication in quarto.

## *The Contents of the Folios.*

IT may be well to set out the contents of the first folio, in the order in which the plays were included:

The Mad Lover
The Spanish Curate
The Little French Lawyer
The Custom of the Country
The Noble Gentleman
The Captain
Beggars' Bush
The Coxcomb
The False One
The Chances
The Loyal Subject
The Laws of Candy
The Lover's Progress
The Island Princess
The Humorous Lieutenant
The Nice Valour
The Maid in the Mill
The Prophetess
Bonduca
The Sea-voyage
The Double Marriage
The Pilgrim
The Knight of Malta
The Woman's Prize
Love's Cure
The Honest Man's Fortune
The Queen of Corinth
Women Pleased
A Wife for a Month
Wit at several Weapons
Valentinian
The Fair Maid of the Inn
Love's Pilgrimage
Four Plays in One
Masque

The folio of 1679 added:

The Maid's Tragedy
Philaster
A King and no King
The Scornful Lady
The Elder Brother
Wit without Money
The Faithful Shepherdess
Rule a Wife
Monsieur Thomas
The Bloody Brother
The Wild-goose Chase
The Knight of the Burning Pestle
The Night-walker
The Coronation
Cupid's Revenge
The Two Noble Kinsmen
Thierry and Theodoret
The Woman-hater

# COMEDIES AND TRAGEDIES

Written by FRANCIS BEAVMONT AND IOHN FLETCHER Gentlemen.

## Never printed before,

And now publiſhed by the Authours Originall Copies.

*Si quid habent veri Vatum præſagia, vivam.*

*LONDON*,
Printed for *Humphrey Robinſon*, at the three *Pidgeons*, and for *Humphrey Moſeley* at the *Princes Armes in* S^t^ *Pauls Church-yard*. 1647.

*Facsimile of title-page of first Beaumont and Fletcher folio.*

## *The Dramatists Concerned.*

IT must not be supposed that, because these plays were called Beaumont and Fletcher's, no other author had anything to do with them, or that Beaumont and Fletcher were both concerned in all. My friend, Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes, to whose work in this field I shall have occasion to make much reference, tells me, in a letter to which I feel sure he will not object to my referring, that he considers "it is time someone plainly and emphatically repudiated the Beaumont and Fletcher title to these plays as a mere bookseller's dodge." I do not so regard the publisher's ascription. All he claims is that a play in his folio is entitled to be there inasmuch as it contains an appreciable proportion of the work of either Beaumont or Fletcher. Similarly, the publishers of the Shakespeare folio did not mean to infer that every line was Shakespeare's, but only that every play they published was at least partly, perhaps mainly, his. Mr. Sykes thinks a Beaumont and Fletcher volume should contain no work by others than Beaumont and Fletcher. Such a volume would be of very slender dimensions indeed.

That other dramatists were concerned in some of the plays we know for certain. The participation of William Rowley in *The Maid in the Mill* is shown clearly by an entry in Herbert's Office-book; and from the same source we learn that *The Night-walker*, though originally Fletcher's, was corrected by Shirley. Of the presence of Massinger there can be no doubt. Cokaine mentions the fact no less than three times. In his "Small

Poems," published 1658, occurs the following: "To the publishers of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher":

"In the large book of Playes you late did print
(In Beaumonts and in Fletchers name) why in't
Did you not justice? Give to each his due?
For Beaumont (in those many) writ in few:
And Massinger in other few; The Main
Being sole issues of sweet Fletchers brain.
But how came I (you ask) so much to know?
Fletchers chief bosome-friend informed me so.
I'th next impression therefore justice do,
And print their old one's in one volume too:
For Beaumonts work and Fletchers should come forth
With all the right belonging to their worth."

Again, in his address to Charles Cotton, he says:

"Had Beaumont lived when this Edition came
Forth, and beheld his ever living name
Before Plays that he never writ, how he
Had frowned and blushed at such Impiety?
His own Renown no such addition needs
To have a fame sprung from another's deedes.
And my good friend old Philip Massinger
With Fletcher writ in some that we see there."

and, once more, in his epitaph on Massinger, he says,

"Plays they did write together, were great friends."[1]

It will be seen that Sir Aston was of much the same opinion as Mr. Sykes holds to-day; but Moseley's answer in regard to Massinger would doubtless have been that, had he claimed to be including Massinger's work, making that poet one of a triumvirate, the large num-

[1] Can Massinger, who was the poet's good friend, be "Fletcher's chief bosome-friend," who was Cokaine's informant, according to the first of these three extracts?

ber of dramas which he wrote alone would have swelled the volume to unwieldy proportions. It may be thought unfortunate that he did not indicate the authorship (or at least the original authorship) of each play; but seventeenth-century publishers did not share our ideas of the importance of definite and complete attributions.

Though we may be certain that Massinger is present in these plays, we have no external evidence to guide us as to the identity of the ones in which he was concerned. With Shakespeare the case is different. There is strong, but not indubitable, evidence as to his participation in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—evidence that would have been accepted unhesitatingly by scholars had it been any other than Shakespeare who was concerned. We have, therefore, six dramatists whose names are definitely connected with plays contained in the second folio; but we know too that Daborne and Field collaborated with Fletcher and Massinger in an unidentified play which may or may not have come down to us. The eight dramatists named are, then, the ones whose work there is good reason to look for in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays; but also there is a distinct probability of the presence of four others. In a play, *The Widow*, not contained in the folios, Fletcher's name is joined with the names of Middleton and Jonson, as it is joined with Shakespeare's on the title-page of *The Two Noble Kinsmen;* but the evidence in the case of Shakespeare is much stronger than is that for Fletcher's participation with Middleton and Jonson in the authorship of *The Widow*. The probability of the presence of work by Jonson in the Beaumont and Fletcher collection is, however, not small, in view of the fact that one of his plays

contains matter found also in *Love's Pilgrimage*, and the further fact of the traditional association of his name with that of Beaumont. Nor must the possibility of the presence of Brome and D'avenant be overlooked, the former having edited two of the plays and supplied a dedication to one of them on its first publication fourteen years after the death of Fletcher, and, in his capacity of "poet" to the company which produced it and others of the plays, having quite possibly acted also as reviser; while D'avenant, the poet of a rival company, is an even likelier reviser, who also wrote a prologue for a revival of *The Woman-hater* and rewrote *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (in post-Restoration days).

Though the dramatists I have named are the ones a knowledge of whose style and literary habits is most essential, there are other possible participants,—a sixteenth-century pioneer, an eighteenth-century editor (of both of whom I shall speak later), some poets of the King's company (Webster, Tourneur, Heywood, Ford), and others who wrote for the Queen's Revels Children or their successors, either during Beaumont and Fletcher's connection with them or subsequently (Chapman, Dekker, Marston, Barksted, Davenport),—but the only one of these who can be definitely connected with either of our authors is Chapman, who wrote commendatory verses for *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

## *Collaboration and Revision.*

THE theory that plays underwent a great deal of alteration and revision by many writers will seem strange only to those who know nothing of the dra-

matic conditions of the period. There were, for example, at least four versions of *Hamlet*, at least three of Marlowe's *Faustus*. It seems indeed as if, whenever an old play was revived, it was "brought up to date," topical allusions being inserted, ones no longer having any point being omitted, and concessions being made to current taste. There are not wanting instances of plays only a year or two old being submitted to revision; and yet the historian of "The Elizabethan Stage," Sir Edmund Chambers, commenting on *The Woman's Prize*, commits himself to the statement that he sees "no justification for supposing that a play written in 1605 would undergo revision, as has been suggested, in 1610-14"; yet, in dealing with the very next play figuring in his monumental work, *Philaster*, he raises no objection to a suggestion that it underwent a drastic rewriting only some three years after its first production.[1] This is one of the many inconsistencies that mar the historian's valuable achievement, seeming, as they do, to hint at prejudices and preconceptions that do not make for truth.

And, as no one with a real knowledge of what is called the Elizabethan drama will regard much rewriting of plays as improbable, so no scholar who has studied the subject will think there is any absurdity in supposing that as many as three poets collaborated in the production of a play. Three, indeed, is by no means the limit. Henslowe's Diary shows us no less than five working together; and we know from an extant letter that

[1] In regard to Marston's *Fawn*, which he dates 1604, he goes so far as to say, "If Kirkham revived the Fawn at Paul's in 1606, he is not unlikely to have had it written up a bit"!

at one time Fletcher was collaborating with three others —Massinger, Field, and Daborne. Any one then who starts with a prejudice against the idea of three or four men working together or against the theory that any play has been subjected to considerable rewriting is handicapping himself with assumptions that will render it difficult for him to arrive at the truth.

## *The Plays to be Considered.*

THE plays that the "Beaumont and Fletcher" investigator needs to examine include not only the fifty-two appearing in the folio of 1679, but every other one associated with the name of either of our authors by any external evidence whatever. The number will thus be swelled to sixty-three by the inclusion of *The Faithful Friends*, *Double Falsehood*, *The Widow*, *The Opportunity*, *The New Inn*, *The Lost Lady*, *The Bondman*, *Women beware Women*, *The Unfortunate Lovers*, *Love's Cruelty*, and *The Inconstant Lady*. There are moreover three plays—*A Very Woman*, *Barnavelt*, and *Henry VIII*—which, though connected with neither author's name by any external evidence, are admitted by almost all students to be partly Fletcher's: and there are still another three—*The Birth of Merlin*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Stukeley*—that assuredly need to be considered. Any one wishing to exhaust all the probabilities may add half-a-dozen plays of Jonson's—*The Silent Woman*, *The Alchemist*, *Catiline*, *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Sad Shepherd*, and *The Devil Is an Ass*—on the strength of Dryden's statement that "Beaumont was so accurate a judge of plays, that Ben Jonson, while he

lived, submitted all his writings to his censure, and, 'tis thought, used his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots," supported as it is by Langbaine's assertion that "Beaumont . . . so admirably understood the Art of the Stage that even *Johnson* himself thought it no disparagement to submit his Writings to his Correction." Neither writer can be said to be of much authority; but, for all that, it might perhaps be worth while for some one to search those of Jonson's plays dating between 1604 and 1616 for signs of Beaumont.

## *Bases for Knowledge of the Authors Implicated.*

IT is of course necessary, before attempting to ascertain the authorship of the various parts of these plays, to understand thoroughly the methods and peculiarities of the different writers who took part in them; but how are we to determine those methods and peculiarities? It may be easy to find a basis for a knowledge of Massinger, of William Rowley, and of Shirley, three of the five dramatists whose work can be positively stated to be present in the folio of 1679; but what of the other two, of Beaumont and Fletcher themselves? Their characteristics have to be learned from the folio itself; and that can be done properly only by the exercise of the greatest caution. Unless a sound basis be discovered, conclusions are apt to be false.

As regards Shirley and Massinger the course is clear. The former has no less than twenty-seven plays definitely claimed by him and of which his sole authorship is undoubted. Equally strongly claimed by him are an-

other three (*The Coronation, The Opportunity,* and *The Traitor*); nor has he any rival for the authorship of *Ajax* and *The Arcadia,* both of which were issued during his lifetime as his. If we add *The Constant Maid* and *The Ball,* as we may do less certainly, we have the whole of his recognized plays to draw on with the exception of *Chabot* and *The Night-walker.*

Of the sixteen plays that go under the sole name of Massinger, ten—*The Bondman, The Duke of Milan, The Emperor of the East, The Great Duke of Florence, The Maid of Honour, A New Way to Pay Old Debts, The Picture, The Renegado, The Roman Actor,* and *The Unnatural Combat*—afford a very sure footing, since all of them were not merely published as Massinger's, but also bore dedications by him; nor is there any reason to question his sole authorship of *The Guardian* and *Believe as you list.*

There should then be no difficulty in obtaining an accurate idea of the characteristics of either Massinger or Shirley. Rowley is in less good case. There are but four plays attributed wholly to him, and not one of them is definitely claimed by him. *A Match at Midnight* merely carries his initials, and is credited to Dekker in an old catalogue. It has, moreover, certainly undergone alteration, either by the author or by some one else. This then affords no safe criterion. Neither does *A Shoemaker a Gentleman,* even though the "W. R." of the quarto is shown by the Stationers' Register entry to stand for Rowley. Its authority cannot be accepted without question, since it was given to the press only after the demise of its reputed author. One must then depend upon *All's Lost by Lust* (which an old

catalogue ascribes to Massinger) and *A Woman never Vext* (which has certainly suffered revision). The plays in which we may be most sure of the presence of Rowley are two of which he was but part author—*The Travels of three Brothers* and *A Fair Quarrel*. Joint plays, however, cannot serve our purpose.

There is but one play unequivocally claimed by Fletcher as wholly his (*The Faithful Shepherdess*); and unfortunately it is his only venture in a particular genre, and can hardly be regarded as affording a clear indication of his ordinary style. The play most definitely his in which his style is to be clearly seen is *The Humorous Lieutenant*, and after that come *The Woman's Prize*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Wild-goose Chase*, *A Wife for a Month*, and *Rule a Wife*. These do not give quite so safe criteria as *The Humorous Lieutenant*, because, though they were equally surely Fletcher's in the first place, we cannot be certain that they have not undergone alteration—in fact, in the case of *The Wild-goose Chase*, we may feel confident that it has. The evidence for Fletcher's sole authorship of *Valentinian* is somewhat more questionable, but it is good enough to warrant one's taking it as showing Fletcher's style in tragedy. And, finally, *The Chances* may be added, though it may be held to contain a late insertion.

When we come to consider Beaumont, we have a less simple proposition before us. It is true that we possess a masque which is entirely his; but, not being drama (for which reason it is ignored here), it gives no indication of his dramatic characteristics.[1] There is not, un-

[1] Gayley, however, takes it as a test of Beaumont's style, and com-

fortunately, any play extant of which he can definitely be declared sole author. There are, however, four plays regarding which the evidence is sufficiently strong, if not absolutely impeccable, to warrant us in definitely accepting them as the work of himself and Fletcher. When then the student has obtained a thorough knowledge of Fletcher's manner from a study of the eleven plays by that writer to which attention has been directed, he may turn to these four—*Philaster*, *The Scornful Lady*, *A King and no King*, and *The Maid's Tragedy*—and, marking off as Fletcher's those portions manifesting the Fletcherian characteristics, may study the balance, in order to obtain an acquaintance with the dramatic and literary qualities of his partner. It is not as good a method as could be desired; but it is the best that is possible in the circumstances.

It is perhaps advisable here to utter a word of warning. Those who wish to ascertain an author's style must not make the common mistake of commencing with a

pares it with Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*. He gives the following figures for the 131 blank verse lines of the Masque and the first 163 lines of *The Faithful Shepherdess:*

Final pauses—M, 60 per cent (big for B); FS, 50 (low for Fl)
Double endings—M, less than 1 per cent; FS, nearly 9
Feminine cæsura—M, 40 per cent; FS, 40
Opening stressed syllable—M, 10; FS, fully 35

"In the matter of anapæstic substitutions and of stress-syllable openings for the verse-sections after the cæsura," he says, "Beaumont is inelastic, while Fletcher displays a marvellous freedom. In the Maske we encounter but rarely the rhetorical pause within the verse compensating for an absent thesis or arsis, while in Fletcher we find frequent instances of this device, and an occasional jolting cæsura." (In quoting I have abbreviated, but without altering.) In the purely Beaumont scenes of *The Woman-hater* he finds "the same infrequency of stress-syllable openings, of anapæstic substitutions, and of suppressed syllables."

study of his early plays. They should begin with his latest—the latest of those which really significant external evidence declares to be his. In his early stages a writer is always more or less imitative, not having developed a manner of his own. To accept such work as characteristic is to form an altogether false conception of both the writer's capabilities and his stylistic characteristics. There is no dramatist of the period in whom there is a more marked difference between the early conventional imitative manner and the later style, deliberate and individual, than Middleton; yet I have seen a study of his work which took as the basis of an understanding of his style three or four of his early plays, including one—*Blurt, Master Constable*—which is attributed to him on very slender evidence, and is, if my judgment be correct, not his at all.

## *The Order in which the Plays should be Studied.*

IF then I may be permitted to advise the student who may wish to attempt to settle for himself the authorship of the various plays that go under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, I shall urge him to begin with the latest that there is sound external evidence for regarding as Fletcher's, gradually working down to what would seem to be the earliest. That would mean beginning with *Rule a Wife*, and proceeding through *A Wife for a Month*, *The Wild-goose Chase*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Loyal Subject*, *Valentinian*, *Monsieur Thomas*, and *The Faithful Shepherdess* to *The Woman's Prize*. I should then follow with *The Chances*, which there is good reason to regard

as practically entirely Fletcher's. After familiarizing himself with the respective styles of William Rowley and Shirley, the student might then in turn take up *The Maid in the Mill* and *The Night-walker*. Next, attention might be directed to nine plays with which Beaumont cannot possibly have been concerned—*The Lover's Progress* (which is known to have been originally Fletcher's, but to have been altered by another dramatist), *The Spanish Curate*, *The Prophetess*, *The Island Princess*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Double Marriage*, *The False One*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Custom of the Country* (it being known regarding these last-mentioned three that in every one of them more than a single writer was concerned); but before studying these nine it would be advisable for the investigator to steep himself in Massinger, since it is in these plays written subsequent to the death of Beaumont that Massinger's hand is most likely to be found. *The Knight of Malta* and *The Queen of Corinth* might follow; and *The Elder Brother* might come next. Though it claims to be a posthumous production of Fletcher's, there are reasons against accepting the claim.

Then, and not till then, should the student turn his attention to the plays in which Beaumont may be concerned. Starting with the four regarding which there is the nearest approach to certainty—*The Scornful Lady*, *A King and no King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, and *Philaster*, in that order—and following with *The Coxcomb*, which would stand in the same line but for the more than likelihood of its having been subjected to revision, he may then be prepared to tackle the plays dating from Beaumont's lifetime concerning which the external

evidence is either contradictory or vague or in which it is otherwise complicated—*The Woman-hater, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, Bonduca, Cupid's Revenge, Love's Cure, Four Plays in One, The Captain, Wit without Money, Women Pleased, The Honest Man's Fortune, Double Falsehood,* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (these last two necessitating a knowledge of Shakespeare). Three other plays that must have been early in their first form—*The Nice Valour, Wit at several Weapons,* and *The Noble Gentleman*—may be taken next; and with them may be named *The Faithful Friends,* which might have been mentioned somewhat sooner but for the corruptness of its text. Another left till late for a similar reason is *The Sea-voyage,* which might otherwise have found a place with *The Spanish Curate* and *The Prophetess.* After *The Sea-voyage* the investigator may turn to the very difficult late (or apparently late) play, *The Laws of Candy,* and finally to the exceedingly controversial dramas of dubious (but almost certainly mixed) date—*The Fair Maid of the Inn, Love's Pilgrimage, Beggars' Bush, Thierry,* and *The Bloody Brother.* And, finally, after examining *The Widow* and others of inadequate external evidence, the student will have to turn his attention to plays, such as *Barnavelt,* concerning which there is no external evidence whatever of the presence of either Beaumont or Fletcher.

## *Grounds of Discrimination.*

THE work here attempted is not to be undertaken without a knowledge of the peculiar characteristics of all the various writers I have named, and espe-

cially of the three chief authors concerned. Let me try to make clear the general lines on which I have proceeded in the endeavor to distinguish between them. To attempt to discriminate solely or primarily according to their several mental processes or moral tendencies is futile; nor does a consideration of their purely dramatic qualities, such as characterization or the technique of the theater, afford much firmer footing. It is quite possible for a dramatist to rise in a single play high above or to fall far below his ordinary powers of character-delineation; and he is always liable to depart from his wonted dramatic technique under the influence or by the advice or with the assistance of a fellow dramatist who may not do a line of the writing and whose assistance may be wholly unacknowledged. To judge a character to be Shakespeare's, for example, because it is masterly in conception and delineation would be foolish in the extreme; and to say that because the conduct of a play is Fletcherian it must be by Fletcher would be no less stupid. Nor would it be right if we found a play soaked in theories of the divine right of kings to assume the authorship of either Beaumont or Fletcher; nor yet does Massinger's peculiar and unpleasant habit of gloating over "lawful pleasures" justify us in regarding such gloatings as a sure indication of his presence. It is not by the mental or the moral or the dramatic that we may best judge, but by the literary—the language employed (vocabulary of word and phrase), the form into which that language is put (that is to say, the construction of the sentences), the facture of the verse into which those sentences are moulded (that is to say, the outward and obvious qualities of it, such as the frequency of rhyme,

the proportion of double endings, and the percentage of end-stopt lines), and the indefinite music that permeates it all (the rise and fall of the melody, proceeding one hardly knows whence, but mainly doubtless from the distribution of stresses). This last may well be the most subtle, the most elusive, the most insecure, the most perilous, of these four means; but the importance of it is enormous. It may be possible to have two poets neither of whom has any very individual vocabulary, whose phrasing presents no peculiarities, and whose verse is built up apparently on identical lines, with a similar employment of rhyme and double endings and central pauses and all the other outward and visible signs of the metrist, and yet for the verse of the two men to be unmistakably different in the effect upon the ear. It is the test on which I have mainly relied; but it has one great disadvantage: its results cannot be tabulated, as can those of vocabulary, of sentence-building, of verse-construction; and therefore, however convinced one may be of the correctness of one's judgment, one can give no proofs—at least, none that will appeal to those whose ears are differently attuned. I have not, of course, confined myself to this one test, but have taken into consideration the other literary qualities I have mentioned, even though I may not give the proofs afforded by these.

## *Fletcher's Versification.*

THE task of distinguishing between the hand of Fletcher and that of any of his comrades is rendered much less difficult than it would otherwise be by the fact that of all the Elizabethan dramatists it is he

who has the most distinctive and individual style. In either the originality or the qualities of his versification he is approached by but a single writer, Middleton, to whose remarkable individuality and sovereign literary genius justice has never been done, save by Swinburne. When either of these two poets is at his most characteristic, he can hardly be mistaken for the other; at other times there is a likeness between them, though it is seldom so marked as to be liable to lead to confusion. In his late work Fletcher is almost unmistakable; in his earlier dramas he is much less distinctive. He is distinguished by his excessive use of double endings, of which he usually has about seventy in every one hundred lines.[1] To show how truly this may be said to be a distinctive mark of Fletcher, I may mention that his percentage is more than half as much again as Massinger's, who, with the exception of Middleton, makes the nearest approach to him of all his fellow dramatists. Triple and quadruple endings he also has; but he is especially noted for his habit of emphasizing the extra (11th) syllable of a verse. Examples are to be picked up by the dozen. Here are two or three:

> "You do but change a man; your fortune's constant,
> That by your ancient valours is tied fast *still*;

[1] As an example of the excess of Fletcher's employment of this metrical device, I may direct attention to IV. 3 of *The Loyal Subject*. There we find a succession of 16 double endings and one triple ending separated by only one single ending from another succession of 19 double endings and two triple; and but a few lines further on in the same scene there occur 38 successive lines of which 31 are double endings, six triple endings, and but one a single ending; and even that one may be read as a double ending, consisting as it does of the word "power." This far exceeds anything to be found even in Middleton.

Be valiant still, and good; and when you fight *next*,
When flame and fury make but one face of horror,
When the great rest of all your honour's up,
When you would think a spell to shake the enemy,
Remember me; my prayers shall be with ye."

(*The Loyal Subject*, I. 3.)

"And thou, good sword, that knew'st the way to conquest,
Upon whose fatal edge despair and death *dwelt*."

(*The Loyal Subject*, I. 3.)

It will be noticed that the syllables "still," "next," "dwelt," cannot, to use Darley's words, "be lapt under the teeth" like the extra syllable in other lines; each "stands out as a substantive part of the verse, which is thereby augmented beyond a decasyllable." That this construction was intentional is shown by the frequent obtainment of it by means of some conventional and wholly unnecessary end word (such as "still" or "else" or "too"), thrown in for no other purpose;[2] and similarly we find "sir," etc., used to give the ordinary double ending.[3]

Another characteristic of Fletcher's verse is abun-

[2] "And in your absence; that by me enforced still" (*M. Thomas*), the "still" being not merely unnecessary, but actually opposed to the sense. But Fletcher cared not how inappropriate a word might be as long as it sufficed to give the verse the cadence he affected; and so we find "still," "now," and such-like words, dragged in by the horns.

[3] "We are no children this way. Do ye hear, sir?"

(*Valentinian*, II. 4.)

The word "lady" that Fletcher often affixes to a line that is naturally complete without it gives us the extra emphatic followed by an extra light syllable; and "gentlemen," which he also uses occasionally, the same followed by two light syllables:

"Time and the wars together make me stoop, gentlemen."

(*The Loyal Subject*, I. 3.)

dance of trisyllabic feet. This Darley[4] describes as "the frequent supplanting of one long syllable in a line by two, three, four, or even more short syllables, which, pronounced rapidly together, take up about the same time as the supplanted syllable, and therefore lengthens[5] such verse to the eye, but not (or little) to the ear." He gives a fine instance of this, from *The Custom of the Country:*

"Cannot a man fall, into one of your drunken cellars,
And venture the breaking on's neck, your trap-doors open."

which, with all due respect to Darley, should be read as I have marked it. This tendency makes many of Fletcher's lines quite lyrical, as *e.g.*,

"Down with 'em, down with 'em, down with the gates."
(*The Loyal Subject*, IV. 6.)

and the second of these two lines from *A Very Woman*,

"He will be as wanton, when he has a bone broken,
As a cat in a bowl on the water."

Weak endings and what I may call improper run-on verse are by no means common in Fletcher; and indeed he pauses at the end of about 90 per cent of his

[4] Darley's introduction to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher remains the best critical examination of their merits and defects—certainly of their defects. It is not merely subtle: it is also intelligent and intelligible; and these are rare virtues in a critic. Much of what he says of them jointly applies to them severally; but we must remember that he made no attempt to separate their work.

[5] In Fletcher's early work trisyllabic feet are no commoner than in Beaumont or Massinger.

lines. This is quite a distinctive feature of his verse: of the fearful trammels that held back the early dramatists, he threw off the monotonous succession of iambic after iambic, and remained bound by—I may say strengthened the bonds of—the curse of final pauses. He and Middleton alone partook not of the greater freedom of Beaumont and Shakespeare and Massinger; and their purpose was the same as that which dictated their adoption of double endings.[6] They strove to arrive at ease of dialogue, naturalness, liveliness, action; and they succeeded in no small measure. Fletcher's apparent carelessness of all the rules that govern meter, his abundant use of double endings (both emphatic and unemphatic), and his rejection of run-on lines (at least, to any extent), were all parts of his system. And he finds his justification in the suitability of his verse for the comedy and farce for which other dramatists found prose necessary; nor is the conversation of Fletcher's characters, albeit in verse, less natural than theirs. He has not got the credit for this that he deserves; for he and Middleton were the inventors of the best substitute for prose that verse has yet given us, though I am far from saying that the invention was used properly. If the reader, imbued with the idea that all the Elizabethans wrote without aim or object, be inclined to ascribe to accident what was really the result of premeditation, let him look at the blank verse in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, and he will find it wanting in all Fletcher's peculiarities, simply because of their (supposed) unsuitability to pastoral comedy. This shows plainly that

[6] This union of end-stopt lines with double endings is to be found in the work of no other Elizabethan.

Fletcher could write in another style when he chose, or when he considered his system unfitting the matter in hand. For my own part, I am no admirer of his verse, principally perhaps because of the excess to which he pushed its every characteristic; but, for all that, it cannot be denied that he gained the appearance of careless ease that he desired, and, while he always preserved meter—his own peculiar meter—, made the verse, as verse, as unobtrusive as possible, and his speeches the most natural things, in their way (excepting only Middleton's), in English comedy. It need scarcely be said, when all this is considered, that his sentences are not constructed in the rounded or rhetorical style, though the mannered cadence of his verse and the extravagant use of all his peculiarities of expression (of which more anon) brought him back to the very monotony he was seeking to avoid, and showed the effort he was trying to hide. He was undramatic by the very eagerness with which he pursued his desire to be, or to seem, natural.

Fletcher scarcely ever used rhyme. To prove this, let us examine four of the plays most certainly his. Putting aside final rhymes in the last scenes,[7] we find two scenes in *The Humorous Lieutenant* ending in rhyme (one in three couplets), four in *The Loyal Subject* (one in two couplets), two in *A Wife for a Month*, and one in *The Mad Lover;* and in all the four plays

[7] Of all the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays, only four (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Laws of Candy*, *Monsieur Thomas*, and *The Triumph of Time*) do not end in rhyme; indeed, the last two *completed* lines of *Monsieur Thomas*, which ends in a short line, rhyme; so that that play may be omitted from the short list of exceptions.

only four incidental rhymes.[8] And, except in his very early work, he is even freer from prose than from rhyme. Fleay's assertion that he used no prose whatever is, however, too much to believe, unless we are prepared to admit that some other writer inserted pieces of prose in scenes unquestionably Fletcher's. But not only do we find that he used prose in his early work; but we see also that that prose shows many of the characteristics that distinguish his verse. I shall have occasion to say a few more words on this subject when dealing with *Philaster*. It may be added that Fletcher was fond of alliteration and remarkably skilled in the use of it; but he was not alone in this regard.

[8] Two of them are in *The Mad Lover;* one being a double ending rhyme, while the other is a real curiosity, consisting, as it does, of a rhyme on Fletcher's favorite extra emphatic syllable only:

"And, if thou canst be wise, learn to be good too;
'T will give thee nobler lights than both thine eyes do."
(III. 3.)

## *Fletcher's Literary Eccentricities.*

WE may say just as reasonably of the construction of Fletcher's sentences as of the forms of his verse that he deliberately adopted certain peculiarities, and employed every one of them to an extent that was truly ridiculous, to the destruction of all dignity, of all sweetness, of all that simplicity of diction that is of the very essence of true grandeur of expression. His senseless repetitions are as intentional as, and even more irritating than, his verse-methods. In *Women Pleased* we have,

"Once more you are welcome, sir; to me you are welcome,
To her that honours you";

where any other dramatist would have said "You are welcome, sir." Again, in *Beggars' Bush* (III. 4) we have

> "And therefore give her leave, that only loves you,
> Truly and dearly loves you, give her joy leave
> To bid you welcome."

Sometimes the repetition is quite Poëan in manner, though altogether wanting in the sweet and subtle beauty in which Poe would have clothed it. In *Women Pleased* we have the following grotesque attempt to be pathetic:

> "But through the world, the wide world, thus to wander,
> The wretched world, alone, no comfort with me."[1]

[1] From one of his best and most characteristic plays, *The Island Princess*, I cull the following examples of his trick of repetition, his habit of what Gayley calls "elocutionary after-thought," his manner of piling up words and phrases to add to the effect:

> "*This man*, princes,
> I must thank heartily indeed, and truly;
> For *this man* saw me in't and redeemed me:
> He looked upon me sinking, and then caught me—
> *This*, sister, *this*, *this all man*, *this all* valor,
> *This* pious *man*.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *This* noble bulwark,
> *This* lance and honor of our age and kingdom,
> *This* that I never can reward nor hope
> To be once worthy of the name of friend to:
> *This*, *this man*, from the bowels of my sorrows,
> Has new-begot my name."
>
> (II. 9.)
>
> "Oh, *that* Armusia, *that* new thing, *that* stranger,
> *That* flag stuck to rob me of mine honor,
> *That* murdering chain shot at me from my country,
> *That* goodly plague that I must court to kill me.
> . . . *That* brave thing *has undone me*, *has sunk me*,
> *Has trod me*, like a name in sand, to nothing."
>
> (III. 1.)

One can scarcely enjoy his plays (I mean those written without Beaumont's coöperation) because of the resentment his methods inspire one with. He sought for freedom, and found feebleness; his passion, which was reached by a cumulative process, is forced and pretentious, his grandeur is tinsel; nothing is real; the skill of the conjurer, the touch of the trickster, is visible everywhere. He was destitute of pathos; but he had it at command, and how pathetic his work could be some of his early plays, where his language partakes of the simplicity of his partner's, show plainly enough.[2] How he could, as in III. 1 of *Monsieur Thomas*, feign an intensity that his subject made it wholly impossible for him to feel is beyond my ability to comprehend. In the scene I have mentioned there is all the seeming of

"Your magazine's afire, sir. *Help, help suddenly.*
The castle too is *in danger, in much danger.*
*All* will be lost. Get the people presently,
And *all* that are your guard; and *all* help—*all hands*, sir."
(II. 3.)

"Get me *some drink*. Give me *whole tuns of drink*,
*Whole cisterns*."
(II. 7.)

"Count me *a heavy, sleepy fool, a coward*,
*A coward past recovery, a confirm'd coward*,
One without carriage or common sense."
(II. 8.)

"*A little force* must be *applied* upon him—
*Now, now applied—a little force*, to humble him."
(IV. 4.)

Note how entirely the pattern of this mosaic matches that of the passage quoted above from *Beggars' Bush*. It is Fletcher's so distinctly and so distinctively that its occurrence in any play would be almost sufficient to proclaim his presence.

[2] It was unfortunate for the fame of Fletcher that he wrote so long: he lived to show his faults and weaknesses, and to belittle his merits.

earnestness in Cellide's speeches, and the reader can hardly help thinking that the author actually believes in the genuineness of his mock-fine situation.

## *Fletcher's Dramatic Faculty.*

BUT, though Fletcher had nothing of the earnestness of the artist, nothing of the truth of the teacher, nothing of the wisdom of the philosopher, there is much to enjoy in his comedies and romantic dramas, even if the enjoyment is tinged with regret that such great powers should have been wasted so pitifully. The fine madness of the true Elizabethans, the imagination that flies to the sublime, the tragic genius that illuminates by a single touch, the intellect that fathoms the philosophy of life, he had not, and cared not for;[1] but he had a pretty and playful fancy, and his verse is the most exquisitely musical (when he allows it to be) that the drama offers us. His humor, too, is undoubted; and, though very few of the Elizabethans move us to laughter, Fletcher is one of those few (and Beaumont is another); but his incompactness robs his humor of all satiric edge. His comic characters, though often too farcical, and sometimes mere Jonsonian humors, unredeemed by Ben's greatness of execution, are now and then hit off very happily. Though he was gifted with considerable insight into human nature—at least, into the humorous side of it—he had not that power of subtle presentation that lifts Shakespeare and Webster above all other dramatists of our nation. His characters

[1] Dryden knew what he was saying when he wrote,

"In easy dialogue is Fletcher's praise;
He moved the mind, but had not power to raise."

are not enigmas that we have to solve: too frequently there is nothing in them that requires understanding. He cared nothing for development of character, and the conduct of some of his *dramatis personæ* is totally inconsistent with the lines on which he seems to have sketched them out; he troubled not at all to comprehend, and was careless how he spoilt, the creations of his colleagues.[2] He understood women thoroughly well,[3] but purposely deformed them, in order to please the low taste of his audience. Not only does he not try, like Shakespeare, to raise his audience to him; he sinks gladly to its level, because he delights to wallow in the mud. Coleridge's words on Fletcher's women are too well known to need repetition here; but Darley's are probably not: "Woman," he says, "throughout Fletcher's comedies, is treated too much as a fair animal, or little more. The homage paid her is almost heartless, at least soulless; she is a mere object of voluptuous pursuit—a hare to be coursed, or a trout to be tickled, for supper." This is unfortunately only too true. His chaste women are not modest, and are far from being innocent. They are not so senseless as to lose their "honour": they know their value. Look at Honora, the virtu-

[2] Witness Montague (in *The Honest Man's Fortune*).

[3] If any one be inclined to doubt this, let him study Celia (Enanthe), the heroine of *The Humorous Lieutenant*. Fletcher's knowledge of the female heart is admirably shown in her scenes with Demetrius, with Leontius, and with the governess. Note how she informs Demetrius she cannot marry him:

> "Since you have conceived an evil against me,
> An evil that so much concerns your honour,
> That honour aim'd by all at for a pattern."

Surely that is a woman's subtle rap over the knuckles to the very life. And yet Fletcher has failed with her in IV. 5 in his usual way.

ous Honora: the sweet damsel, while resisting the Duke's improper proposals, talks as no modest girl would talk, offers herself to him in marriage, and, while refusing to abate her price, says coarsely enough,

> "And were I fit to be your wife (so much I honour you)
> Trust me I would scratch for you but I would have you:
> I would woo you then."

It is impossible to imagine Shakespeare or Beaumont putting language like this into the mouth of a maiden he wished us to respect. But, while the women of Fletcher's comedies are hare-brained virgins and lascivious ladies, his tragedies do contain chaste, virtuous creatures, though there is something overstrained in their virtue. Compare the chastity of Casta with the almost maidenly innocence of one who was no maiden, Violante, and the inferiority of Fletcher's conception of womanhood to that of his collaborator in *Four Plays in One* is signally established. This overdoing of virtue in Fletcher is not confined to his women alone: we see the same sort of thing in the hero of *The Elder Brother*. Because Charles is a lover of books, the dramatist makes him ignorant of the meanings of the words venison, anchovies, caviare; and even goes so far as to make him suggest to his lady love that they should go to bed together on the warrant of his assurance of his innocence! But, as is shown by his inability to paint goodness as it exists, Fletcher had no very high idea of either man or woman: he had to go outside of nature to conceive real virtue in either.

If I have bestowed hard words on his comedy heroines, I have no better for his comedy heroes. Dryden

tells us that "Fletcher understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better than Shakespeare"; but, if so, may the Lord have mercy on the souls of the gentlemen of that time, for the men whom Fletcher produces as fit to engage our sympathy are nothing less than disgusting in their profligacy. Though he gives us now and then virtuous men, he was utterly incapable of conceiving gentlemen such as we find in Shakespeare. But, as far as it goes, Dryden's criticism was just: the young bloods of the time are brought most vividly before us in Fletcher's pages;[4] nor, as I have said, is there to be found amongst any other of the Elizabethans, with one exception, such mastery of the ease and naturalness that should distinguish dramatic dialogue. Though in verse, it is more like real dialogue than is most dramatists' prose.

There are other types of character, one or other of which is to be found in most of his plays—the merry soldier; the blunt, honest man, also usually a soldier; the poltroon; the virago; the female monster of iniquity; and the little mine of pathos driven by despair or cruelty to crime: but for the conception, development, and sustainment of other than conventional stage characters Fletcher had no fancy: he set the fashion to succeeding dramatists in making action rather than characterization his aim, and thereby hastened the decay of the drama. His imagination is extraordinarily fertile, and in the region of the vulgar and the ludicrous almost unsurpassably vivid, and his mastery and fluency of

[4] *The Little French Lawyer* gives very good samples of Fletcher's comedy ladies and gallants—maidens and men I do not feel inclined to call them. All are alike despicable and disgusting.

language it is hardly too much to describe as wonderful, accentuating and developing his truly remarkable comic inventiveness. The wit, the sparkle, the breathlessness, and the clarity of it are almost unrivaled. He wrote to please, and was ready to violate character for the satisfaction of his audience, whose interest he wished to excite and sustain, no matter how.[5] And this, perhaps the main cause of his popularity in his own time and the age immediately succeeding, tells most against him now; for his plays were written to be represented, rather than to be read. They are too bustling; too full of incident: the breathless vivacity that would carry them successfully through the ordeal of a stage representation cannot blind us to their defects when they are read. They are an extraordinary mixture of repartee and nastiness, romance and adventure, love and lewdness, fun and frolic —a medley loosely yet cleverly put together, and vitalized by Fletcher's briskness and "go." Some of the scenes may be quite unnecessary to the plot; and it is indeed rather bustle than action that characterizes his work: despite his liveliness, he brings us slowly to the dénouement, if there be one (his plays may almost be said to consist of a series of dénouements: they seldom turn on one incident, nearly always on a succession of abortive attempts; and the result is a woeful lack of concentration and compactness). His dramas are more like novels than those of any of his contemporaries, and I cannot help thinking he would have made (with care)

[5] His want of artistic earnestness has been thus alluded to by Langbaine: "I have either read or been informed that it was generally Mr. Fletcher's practice, after he had finished three acts of a play, to show them to the actors, and after they had agreed upon terms he huddled up the two last without that proper care which was requisite."

a greater novelist than dramatist. There is very good reason to suppose that much of his work was executed hurriedly,[6] and we know that he produced or helped to produce three or four plays a year. This haste, combined with his high spirits, his easy command of language, and his readiness of invention, prevented him from bestowing the necessary care upon them. Darley rightly describes them as "wonderful for rough drafts, but requiring to be every one rewritten."

[6] *Barnavelt* is an example of the speed with which Fletcher and Massinger (in common with other dramatists) had to work.

## *Fletcher's Vocabulary.*

I HAVE dwelt at some length on the character of Fletcher as a dramatist because the peculiarities that his verse displays are so marked that one might be tempted to rely upon them altogether when deciding the question of Fletcher's presence in any play. But, though we may feel sure that any scene showing his singular manner of versification must be his, it would be wrong to assume that scenes not showing it are necessarily not his, for we find in his plays some—though very few—that verse-tests would decide to belong to another. It is therefore desirable that we should have other means of deciding. And there is one that I have not yet touched upon—one that Mr. Boyle might have been expected to have made us of—his continual employment of a few stock words, phrases, and expressions, such as "plaguily," "claw'd," "slubber'd," "too," "extremely," "mischiefs," "ruins," "diseases," "shake," "smoke," "stink," "scratch," "shrewdly," "pulled on" (common also in Beaumont), "stuck with," "it shews,"

"dwell round about ye," "for ever," "no way" (for "not at all"). Three or four of these may be found in the following:

> "My head swims *plaguily;* 'uds precious, I shall be *claw'd.*"
>
> "Contemn'd of all! and kicked *too!* Now I find it!
> My valour's fled *too,* with mine honesty."
>
> "Thus your poor servant, full of grief, turns from you,
> *For ever* full of grief, *for ever* from you."

In this last we may notice the illustrative "thus" which Fletcher particularly affected. Imprecations and exclamations such as "how it shakes me!"[1] "would I had," "how like a . . . it shews now!" are also very common in his work; and other favorite constructions are those italicized in the following:

> *"What goddess have I not been, or what goodness?*
> *What star that is of any name in Heav'n,*
> *Or brightness?"*
>
> *"Thou hopeful young man once, but now thou lost man,*
> *Thou naked man* of all that we call noble."

Fletcher showed an extraordinary fondness for the use of "ye" instead of "you," even in the singular and in the objective. Dr. R. B. M'Kerrow has pointed out that in *The Spanish Curate* the word occurs 271 times in the Fletcher part and four times in the Massinger

[1] Here is an example (from *Women Pleased*, V. 1):

> "The valour of one single man has crossed me,
> Crossed me and all my hope; for, when the battles
> Were at the hottest game of all their furies,
> And conquest ready then to crown me victor
> (Oh, how I shame to think on't! how it shakes me!)
> Nor could our strongest head then stop his fury,
> But, like a tempest, bore the field before him."

part, that in Fletcher's portion the percentage of "you" to "ye" is 65, while in Massinger's portion it is 5600 In *The Elder Brother* Dr. W. W. Greg has found the percentage of "ye's" and "y'are's" to "you's" in Fletcher's part almost three times as high as in Massinger's. Professor C. M. Gayley says that Fletcher's employment of "ye" varies from one-third to twice as much as his use of "you," while Beaumont rarely uses a "ye." One may draw particular attention to the objective use of the word. This is somewhat rare in other dramatists, though it is to be remarked that it is found in some of the later men, such as Ford and Shirley (particularly the former), and also in Field. Amongst early men, I have noted it particularly in Porter.

## *The Beaumont and Fletcher Partnership.*

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the special characteristics of Beaumont, it may be well to say a few words concerning the dramatic and theatrical qualities of the joint efforts of the two men, those matters of plot and of incident to which doubtless both contributed. The stories of their plays show inventiveness and ingenuity. The inevitability of the greatest drama does not characterize their work; rather their dénouements are constructed to effect surprise. They are, that is to say, theatrical rather than dramatic. A succession of striking situations keeps the reader's (as it must have kept the spectator's) interest at the utmost tension, and that interest is increased by the knowledge of the authors' artistic dishonesty, since, on a first reading one can scarcely tell, except from the description of a play as "tragedy" or "comedy," whether it is going to end

happily or unhappily. Almost all, whether tragedies or comedies, are of the romantic order.

If the stories are, thus, unreal, the language is not; and often the lucidity and straightforwardness of the speech achieve the marvel of making the incredible seem true. There is a notable absence of the declamatory eloquence, the rounded and sonorous periods, the subordination of action and movement to dilatory and undramatic speech, often poetical and often obscure, that had characterized the work of their predecessors. Ethical intention they had none, save the presentation of a high and romantic magnanimity.

## *Method of Collaboration.*

THE interesting question of the method of collaboration of Beaumont and Fletcher has been treated by Dr. E. N. S. Thompson ("Englische Studien," volume 40), by Dr. O. L. Hatcher ("Fletcher's Habits of Dramatic Collaboration"), and by Dr. Louis Wann (in a volume of "Shakespeare Studies" issued by the University of Wisconsin). The first-named argued for a structural division of the plays, Fletcher, when working with Beaumont, taking a hand only late in a play, but, when working with Massinger, taking the three middle acts, and leaving the other two to his partner. Dr. Hatcher, on the contrary, rather favored a division by subject-matter. Dr. Wann made detailed analyses, taking as a basis for the Beaumont-Fletcher combination four plays (*A King and no King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, and *The Scornful Lady*) and for the Fletcher-Massinger union eleven (*Barnavelt*, *Beggars' Bush*, *The*

*Custom of the Country*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Elder Brother*, *The False One*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Lover's Progress*, *The Prophetess*, *The Spanish Curate*, and *A Very Woman*), but discarding three of these (*The Double Marriage*, *The Little French Lawyer*, and *The Lover's Progress*) as containing too many doubtful scenes. (It is a pity he did not exclude *Beggars' Bush* also; and *A Very Woman*, where the two men certainly did not work together.) Of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, he finds 11⅓ acts Beaumont's, 5⅔ acts Fletcher's, and three doubtful. Beaumont begins all four plays, and ends three of them, so that it is evident that Beaumont's was the guiding hand. In the eight supposed Fletcher-Massinger plays, the examiner credits Massinger with 16⅔ acts, and Fletcher with 19⅓, four being doubtful. Massinger begins six, and ends four.

Dr. Wann further finds that Fletcher gave far less attention to female characters than did Beaumont, but predominated in the development of the lower types of character. When working with Massinger he took his fair share of the female characters, but greatly predominated in the development of the low characters, these containing a far greater number of women than do the Beaumont and Fletcher group. The bulk of the comic relief in both groups is, as might be expected, found to be Fletcher's.

## *Beaumont's Prose and Verse.*

AND now for the younger and greater of the partners! The characteristics of Beaumont's verse are by no means so distinct, so individual, as Fletcher's; but

fortunately they differ from that writer's in nearly every respect. Instead of stopt, he uses, run-on, lines; instead of double, single, endings; instead of slurring over several syllables in order to end the line where the speaker naturally takes breath, as Fletcher does, he is apt to conclude his verse with any tenth syllable that comes handy, whether it be adjective, preposition, or conjunction. The extra emphatic syllable, that is so characteristic of Fletcher, is scarcely to be found in Beaumont. Double endings are not at all common in his serious work, though he uses them a great deal with rhyme in burlesque. His double ending percentage is usually about 20, and his unstopt line percentage about 30. These unstopt lines occasionally belong to the class that I have ventured to designate as "improper run-ons." We frequently find, too, in Beaumont, lines ending in a light tenth syllable, as

"And if thou lov'st my Mistress' chastity"

where Fletcher would not improbably have inserted "noble" before "mistress," and treated "chastity" as a triple ending. His work contains many Alexandrines[1] and many lines that are apparently but not actually short (apparently, owing to his use of words of many syllables, and his full pronunciation of them).[2] But the two chief distinguishing marks of Beaumont are supposed to be his use of rhyme and his use of prose. His rhymes oc-

[1] Notably in the first lines of speeches.

[2] An example is

"A complimental visitation."

(*Love's Cure*, III. 2.)

Beaumont's frequent use of short lines is in decided contrast with Massinger's avoidance of them.

cur often in the middle of his blank verse, and his prose will sometimes appear in a speech beginning and ending in verse. Indeed, a few of his speeches show prose, blank verse, and rhyme—all three. This mixture of prose and verse is not, however, as it has been stated to be, peculiar to Beaumont, nor am I disposed to believe (for reasons already hinted at) that the prose scenes occurring in the joint productions of Beaumont and Fletcher *must* belong to the former.

One of the peculiarities of his prose is the frequent occurrence of the enclitic "do." In *The Woman-hater* we find it four times in eight lines of prose in I. 1, and twice within two lines in V. 3; and in I. 3 occurs the following:

"I do begin to grow desperate: Fortune, I do despise thee, do thy worst!—yet when I do better gather myself together, I do find ——."

Such groups of the word are not to be found in the prose of any other dramatist of the period. He affected, too, the old repetitive style made use of by the predecessors of Shakespeare. In *The Woman-hater* (II. 1) we have,

"He knows that man is mortal by his birth;
He knows that man must die, and therefore live:
He knows that man must live, and therefore eat."[3]

(These lines occur in the middle of a prose speech.) He is fond, too, of stringing together a lot of adjec-

[3] Similarly, his repetition of the end-word of one line as the end-word of the next is quite in the style of Peele and his contemporaries:

"My venom eyes
Strike innocency dead at such a distance;
Here I will kneel, for this is out of distance."
(*The Coxcomb*, V. 2.)

tives and descriptive phrases. This fullness of expression has its origin apparently in his legal training, and many passages in his prose have a distinctly legal flavor. Thus in *The Woman-hater* (I. 2) we have,

> "Go, run, search, pry in every nook and angle of the kitchens, larders, and pasteries; know what meat's boiled, baked, roast, stewed, fried, or soused, at this dinner, to be served directly or indirectly, to every several table in the court."

We find enumerative passages in Fletcher, but they lack the legal aroma of Beaumont's. In his prose he sometimes omits little words, such as prepositions or conjunctions; and such omissions, common as they are in the verse of most dramatists, are not common in prose.[4]

[4] Gayley rightly notices as characteristics of Beaumont the frequent appeals to "the just gods" or "heavenly powers," his determinism, his love of men's friendship as a theme, and his proneness to declare that the only difference between man and beast is reason. Dr. H. D. Gray has further pointed out that he is fond of having his characters kneel to one another (a habit in which he does not stand alone, Ford, for example, having a similar tendency). Sykes, dealing with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Times Literary Supplement, August 18, 1921), speaks of him as having "a vocabulary so distinctive that it should be possible to detect it if any part of the play is his"; but I do not find his vocabulary so distinctive. Gayley gives a number of words characteristic of him, but nothing, I think, to call for particular remark unless it be his use of "instruments" for "servants," and that is not peculiar to him.

## *Beaumont's Greatness.*

BEAUMONT has suffered for the sins of his fellow-worker. To the dual personality of Beaumont and Fletcher are ascribed the moral obliquity, the grossness of expression, the incoherence of plot, the inconsistency of characterization, and the conscienceless carelessness

that mar too much of the work of the more prolific of the two friends. That Beaumont could be at times disagreeable I do not deny; that he was studiously immoral and wantonly indecent I do not admit. Fletcher's coarseness was more than mere coarseness of expression: Beaumont's, despite the impurity of some of his plots, was not. Though we cannot claim the same high moral intention for him as for Shakespeare, his ability (in which he is unequaled) to comprehend and set before us maidenhood in the full charm of its innocence, and sweetness, and purity, would alone suffice to show that he was something better than a debased profligate. Unlike Fletcher, he regarded love as a pure and noble passion; and his chaste women do not talk coarsely, and lewdly, and knowingly; nor did he, like Fletcher, stain his good characters, spoil meant-to-be-pretty scenes with grossness (though his comedy could be gross enough), make little of vice, or sacrifice consistency in characterization for stage effect. It was doubtless by that sentimentality that ran sometimes to excess and became ridiculous[1] that he was preserved from the indecency of his colleague; and he was the better enabled to represent pure womanhood by that unmatched simplicity of diction that saves his rounded style of language from the evil usually attendant on it—the evil into which Massinger fell—the tendency to become rhetorical and undramatic.[2]

[1] There is a considerable amount of bathos in II. 1, and false sentiment in III. 1, of *The Maid's Tragedy;* and the unmitigated rubbish that Ricardo talks in II. 4 and V. 2 of *The Coxcomb* (I do not include IV. 2, for that is Fletcher's) falls but little short of burlesque, though it is merely Beaumont's sentiment run to seed.

[2] Perhaps Beaumont's greatest *dramatic* fault is his habit of describing

I cannot agree with Macaulay in thinking Beaumont destitute of wit, though he was not perhaps the equal of his colleague in that respect; but there can be no doubt whatever that his humor was of the highest order. If, as I take it, it is to him we owe in the main *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, he has abundantly shown a marvelous power of mirth-moving humor. Such playful jollity, such good-natured satire, and such ease of humorous and burlesque characterization are not to be matched in the work of any other Elizabethan dramatist. Where Fletcher's humor in its extravagance ran to farce, Beaumont's ran to burlesque; but it would not be fair to judge of the capabilities of either for the higher comedy by what were merely manifestations of their jollity and exuberant flow of spirits. To Beaumont's rich powers of humorous characterization the Citizen and his Wife bear sufficient witness. The latter, with her whimsical likes and dislikes, her admiration for Ralph, her loquacity, her unlucky knack of siding with the less lovable characters in the play, her importance, and her kindliness, is one of the most amusing—and one of the most human—creatures that ever walked the boards.[3]

his characters, and allowing them to tell, in addresses to the audience, what they have done while off the stage. Valore's longest speech in I. 3 of *The Woman-hater* affords an instance. Fletcher shows the same fault in his early plays: there are two instances of it in his part of *The Coxcomb*. In II. 3, Antonio says, "I have writ a letter here, and in it have abused myself"; and in IV. 8 Maria soliloquizes:

> "I sent my husband
> Into a cellar, post, fearing, and justly,
> He should have known him; which I did not purpose
> Till I had had my end."

[3] The late Professor Alden, in his admirable introduction to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *A King and no King*, in the

But Beaumont was not only a humorist of the first water: he possessed a genius for tragedy that, though inferior to Webster's and Marlowe's, might have made him—indeed, has made him—one of the great ornaments of English literature. Though Fletcher sometimes succeeded fairly well in the higher branch of his art, comedy was his proper playground: Beaumont was equally at home in both. Perhaps his greatest charm is in his pathetic passages. His pathos, like that of Heywood and Dekker, is evolved (as genuine pathos always is) from the most simple materials; and the sweet simplicity of his language is especially refreshing after a dose of the mannered style of Fletcher. At times his verse makes a very near approach to that of Shake-

Belles-Lettres Series, contrasts the humor of the "slow-spoken drolls" who constitute Beaumont's mob in II. 2 of *A King and no King* with "the ribald boisterousness" of Fletcher's mob in the last act of *Philaster*. "Beaumont's fun," as he says, "is of the reserved kind which the populace itself would not appreciate; it is the quizzical observation of an aristocrat with a sense of humor for the perverse affectations of the lower classes." The critic connects the dramatist's humorous creations with his "clear view of the ironies of life." (Beaumont's use of dramatic irony has often been pointed out.) Alden instances Ralph (in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*), Bessus (in *A King and no King*), the chaplain (in *The Scornful Lady*), the parasite (in *The Woman-hater*); and, "in the doubtful plays," Pompey (in *Wit at several Weapons*), Marine (in *The Noble Gentleman*), and Sir Pergamos (in *The Faithful Friends*)." "All these," he goes on to say, "are characters of the same school; and no contrast could be more marked than that between their solemn strutting and the light-footed, voluble hilarity of Fletcher's comic characters. Even when both writers depict the absurdities of drunken men (as in Act I of *The Coxcomb*), it is Fletcher who deals with the more hilarious stage, and apparently Beaumont to whom the later mood of offended dignity is turned over. In his solemn-faced humor one may perhaps see again the influence of Shakespeare." There can indeed be no doubt that Shakespeare was one of the two great models of Beaumont, the other being Jonson.

speare,[4] and (as is not the case with either Fletcher or Massinger) lines that cling to the memory are not infrequent in his serious work.

[4] The cadence of Massinger's verse, too, is occasionally not unlike that of "our immortal bard."

## *Beaumont's Burlesque Vein.*

OF characters almost peculiar to Beaumont one may note the hesitating, Hamlet-like hero, who has representatives in Amintor[1] and Philaster, moral, but not physical, cowards; but the characters most commonly associated with the names of Beaumont and Fletcher—the faithful love-lorn maiden and the faithful friend[2]—are not peculiar to either, though Beaumont certainly has more samples of the former than Fletcher. There is, however, one species of human being—well, scarcely human—that Beaumont particularly affected—the burlesque individual. No other Elizabethan shows the possession of so rich a vein of caricature; no other deals so extensively in mock-heroic. Macaulay seems to have been the only one of the recent critics of Beaumont and Fletcher able to appreciate this; for Fleay confessed that he could not understand the distinction that writer drew between burlesque and farce, and Boyle was so far from possessing any ability to comprehend burlesque humor that he considered the finest mock-heroic in the

[1] I find it impossible to agree with Hazlitt that Amintor is a complete failure; nor can I think that we are meant to regard his conduct as heroic. His weakness is intentional and well conceived, though not perhaps with the best eye to dramatic effect.

I have counted this type of character as Beaumont's because it occurs only in the Beaumontesque plays.

[2] Ascanio is Massinger's, and Veramour is not the sole property of any one of the authors of *The Honest Man's Fortune*.

language of "so little literary value" that his division of the author's work was "of comparatively no consequence"; while Dr. Herford, who criticized Macaulay's book in the "Academy" of December 22, 1883, in trying to prove that Fletcher as well as Beaumont used burlesque, quoted a passage from *The Woman's Prize* that was not burlesque at all.[3] But Macaulay is not justified in assuming that, because we do not find mock-heroic in any work that bears indisputable signs of Fletcher's sole authorship, he could not therefore have been the author of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Even if he never used mock-heroic elsewhere, he would be likely to use it there, because the subject called for it.[4]

[3] Macaulay is himself largely to blame for the inability of Fleay and Herford to understand the distinction he draws; for the Lady's speeches in I. 1 of *The Scornful Lady* that he describes as "burlesque magniloquence," and with which Herford compares the speech in *The Woman's Prize* alluded to above, are merely ironical, so that perhaps he himself is not clear as to the meaning of the word "burlesque"; or it may be that his definition of it differs from the accepted one.

[4] *The Scornful Lady*, III. 2, gives us a specimen of Fletcher's burlesque style.

## *Minor Differences between Beaumont and Fletcher.*

THE reader will see from the foregoing many decided points of difference between Beaumont and Fletcher; but there are one or two others to which I must allude. Fletcher delighted in scenes of war; Beaumont did not. Fletcher drew many of his plots from Spanish sources; not so Beaumont. In the Beaumontesque plays we do not find nasty scenes and nasty people wholly unnecessary to the plot wantonly introduced,

as is too often the case with Fletcher. And, finally, those plays that Beaumont had to do with contain very few scenes compared with those Fletcher wrote alone or in conjunction with others. Of the four plays that can with most certainty be ascribed in some measure to the former, *The Maid's Tragedy* has twelve, *The Scornful Lady* thirteen, *A King and no King* fifteen, and *Philaster* nineteen scenes; and in only three amongst all those plays generally conceded to be partly his is there a greater number of scenes than in *Philaster*.[1] Fletcher, on the other hand, has very seldom less than eighteen scenes in any of his plays, and very often a great many more.[2]

[1] These three are *Cupid's Revenge* (22), *The Coxcomb* (24), and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (21); but, in the last-named, six of the scenes are interpolations by the Citizen and his Wife.

[2] *The Loyal Subject* has as many as thirty-one.

## *The Verse of Massinger.*

AND now it is high time to speak of Massinger. And, first, we may see a great difference between him and the two dramatists already dealt with, in the greater evenness of his verse[1] and its comparative freedom from those jolting changes from iambic to trochee that are not uncommon in Beaumont and Fletcher. He cared not how great an emphasis he threw on a light syllable, such as "of," "you," "in"; and he pronounced words very fully, if necessary for the filling-up of a line[2]—but that is not peculiar to Massinger. As in Fletcher, rhyme

[1] The number of inharmonious lines in Massinger is as nothing to the number in Beaumont; but he uses three-syllable feet rather oftener.

[2] "Your reputation shall stand as fair
In all men's good opinions as now."
(*A New Way to pay Old Debts*, IV. 1.)

*Philip Massinger*

*From "Three New Plays" published by H. Moseley, 1655.*

is extremely uncommon (except to end a scene, where it is always to be found), and prose (at any rate, in his later works) is used only for proclamations, letters, and such-like. Short lines are rare,[3] weak endings are very common, and occasionally he uses feeble terminations that are not grammatically separable from the next line, and that make the verse almost indistinguishable from prose. His pauses are more often thrown on the uneven syllables than is the case in either Beaumont or Fletcher; and his frequent use of central pauses is in striking contrast to Fletcher's avoidance of them.

With the exception of Middleton and Fletcher, none of the old dramatists employ double endings so much as Massinger. His plays commonly show from 40 to 50 per cent, while his percentage of run-on lines is usually 35 or 40; and he is almost the only one of the Elizabethans besides Middleton who adopted Fletcher's emphatic double ending,[4] which, however, he did not use

[3] Says Cruickshank: "Plays of Massinger abound in lines divided between two speakers or even three, which nevertheless observe the strictest rules of metre. In this respect Massinger resembles Beaumont, whose metre in divided lines, unlike Webster's and Fletcher's, is very regular." There is, however, more such irregularity in Beaumont than in Massinger.

[4] In the last scene of *A New Way to pay Old Debts*, we have, amongst others,

"For fighting, fear not, you shall have your hands full";
"For a dozen witnesses: the deed being drawn too";
"You being nobly descended, and allied so."

Fletcher indeed exercised considerable influence over Massinger, a fact that Massinger's style gives evidence of. His use of "too" in the second of the three lines just quoted is a trick of Fletcher's for giving the emphatic double ending that Massinger learned and practised; and, like Fletcher, he made a point of obtaining the unemphatic double ending in a similar manner.

extensively. But there is a more certain means (to which I think I may claim to have been the first to direct attention) of ascertaining Massinger's presence, *viz.*, the employment of the middle-ending speech test. His percentage of speeches that end where the verses end is ordinarily as low as 15, while Beaumont's is over 55, and Fletcher's about 45. To take three scenes at random, we get in IV. 2 of Massinger's *Duke of Milan* 25 per cent line-ending speeches (which is high for Massinger); in that portion of Beaumont's II. 1 of *The Maid's Tragedy* following the second song, 51 (when the line division has been corrected); and in IV. 1 of Fletcher's *Island Princess*, 39. To take an example of Massinger from the Beaumont and Fletcher collection, let us look at V. 1 of *Love's Cure:* we there get a percentage of 19. It should then be clear that we have here a pretty sure method of distinguishing Massinger from his colleagues in long scenes in verse.

## *Massinger's Rhetoric.*

BUT, after all, it is not by his versification that Massinger is most easily recognizable, but by his tricks of expression, the rhetorical nature of his language, and a certain bald, prosaic, and conventional stiffness of manner that is easier to detect than to describe. His dramas and his characters are always passionless, even when most vehement. His outbursts of anger are illustrated by the same dignified verse that he employs for the portrayal of a state of happy contentment. As his language is always measured and premeditated, it never seems to come from the heart, and consequently never moves us.

The words are those of Massinger, not of his characters: we feel that they are too unimpassioned to belong properly to those to whom they are imputed. In fact, though he is not without understanding of humanity,[1] his men and women have not in them the breath of life: they are not creatures of impulse, but inhuman creations of the poet's brain: their suddenest determinations strike us as having been carefully considered for a lengthy period. In the care he takes to make his characters weigh the *pros* and *cons* of every matter they may be contemplating, in the hesitancy that marks their efforts to come to some determination, we see the lack in the dramatist of that fire of genius that gave Shakespeare and Webster their insight into the human soul and enabled them to put men and women more vividly before us by a few happy touches than could be done by the greatest intellectual powers combined with the most careful elaboration.

As with his characters, so with his scenes: he saw without realizing, and described without feeling them. He sadly lacked variety: read his tragedies, and you know his style in comedy: to the one tune he sang pæans of joy, songs of madness, comic ditties, everything; and of course we get tired of him, and are apt to be blind to his merits; which, nevertheless, are not to be despised. The very faults we have noticed are not always faults, or would not be regarded as such by the majority of readers. His fluency of declamation, his love of argument, and his fancy for stating cases are not out of place in trial scenes. In these he particularly excelled, and to these he not seldom directed his story:

[1] Of women, however, he has little knowledge.

it is true that he fails to move to tears; but he is undeniably eloquent; and, though his characterization is lacking in subtlety, there are readers who will not grumble thereat: if he does not give us the grandest poetry, he knows the art of the playwright thoroughly:[2] the fine fire of the Elizabethans does not glow in his pages; but he is never insignificant, or tawdry, or bathetic, or extravagant, as they are: he cannot soar as high as they, but he has a better knowledge of his powers, and he never tires—never falls, as they do, by the very greatness of their efforts: and this sustained evenness of his language, that saves us from admiration of him as a poet, will prove an attraction for those readers who prefer continual good sense without grandeur to the loftiness of imagination that stoops, as it cannot fail to stoop, now and then.

[2] His plays, like Fletcher's and unlike Shakespeare's, would be better acted than read.

## *Massinger's Morality.*

CONNECTED with his inability to humanize his characters is the necessity Massinger finds of describing them—a fault far more noticeable, however, in Beaumont, because not so well glossed over—instead of allowing us to understand them by their words and deeds. He often puts into the mouths of his people the opinions that he himself holds—opinions most unlikely to be expressed by them. Thus, the heroine in *The Maid of Honour* says,

> "My towering virtue,
> From the assurance of my merit, scorns
> To stoop so low—"

a remark she would never have made if as fine a character as Massinger wished to represent. But his good people are always praised inordinately—if not by others, by themselves. Similarly, it is usual for his villains ere they make their final exit to give utterance to some moral reflection. A moral must be pointed, at whatever cost; and thus we have Marrall, in utter violation of his character, acknowledging the justice of the calamity that has befallen him. But what was Massinger's morality worth? Like many another of the class of writers "with a purpose," he is often unnecessarily filthy. His comic characters are simply disgusting: he knew his own lack of humor,[1] and strove to make up for it by the coarseness of his comic scenes, which, it must be allowed, was hardly the correct thing for a moralist to do. Still, he always made vice odious or ridiculous, and virtue victorious[2] and had the courage to hold by his ideas of right and wrong; while, however gross his "comic" passages may be, there is always a moral dignity preserved through the serious scenes that cannot fail to win our respect. But Boyle has pointed out a characteristic of Massinger's that shows that, despite his moralizing, there was an innate grossness in him that his own teaching could not reach. Marriage is regarded by his women as a sort of licensed adultery; the ceremony, an unpleasant necessity. They may think as much evil as they please: they are virtuous—ay, paragons of perfection—if they do not act. Thus we find Massinger's maidens

[1] Nevertheless, he is successful in depicting the saucy pertness of a page.

[2] His characters are mere personifications of good and evil qualities, the good being strongly opposed to the evil.

talking about the "lawful pleasures" of the married state. Now, as has often been said, the women of the true Elizabethans may be outspoken and may be coarse, but their love is far purer and far less sensual than that of the Jacobeans. They do not resent the restrictions put upon their freedom, as Massinger's women do, or consider their chastity a toy to be played with, risked, and lost to the boldest gamester, as do Fletcher's. The pure, chaste creatures of the later age have nothing more to learn, except from experience: their education is completed; they are ready to go out into the world. Massinger's women are, then, inferior to Beaumont's in every way, and can scarcely be said to be the superiors of Fletcher's, for, though less coarse, they are more sensual.

## *Massinger's Phraseology.*

MASSINGER'S baldness of treatment asserts itself, not merely in his descriptions of his characters, but also in the narrations by those characters of events that have taken place off the stage, the intention being to lay the state of affairs clearly before the spectators. And more: they very frequently describe what is happening before the audience's eyes, as, *e.g.*,

> "*Steph.* How the duke stands!
> *Tib.* As he were rooted there,
> And had no motion."
>
> (*The Duke of Milan*, III. 3.)

So, too, we get the lamest of lame remarks—such as Cardenio's "They take all weapons from me" (*A Very Woman*, IV. 2)—in which the people on the stage tell

the audience what is happening to them. Anything weaker than these altogether unnatural speeches it would be difficult to imagine. And there is something of the same touch of weakness observable in his tendency to split up an observation on a current event between two people—in order, apparently, to make it seem more natural. Thus, in *A New Way to pay Old Debts*, we have

> "*Lov.* How he foams!
> *Well.* And bites the earth!"

and, again, in the same play,

> "*Ord.* How she starts!
> *Furn.* And hardly can keep finger from the eye
> To hear him named";

and indeed the quotation just given from *The Duke of Milan* is also an example of this.

As might be expected with a writer of Massinger's rhetorical stamp, his sentences are long, and contain many such connecting phrases as "to which," "of whom," "it being," and similes are frequent (though by no means striking); but the most marked peculiarity of his construction is his use of parentheses, which he does not employ, like Fletcher, for purposes of disconnection, but in order to bind sentences and thoughts together.

The cast of Massinger's mind and his syntactical habit are shown by his exceeding fondness for the use of "though," "rather" (to indicate preference, but without "than"), "nay," "nor," and "yet." I searched one play (*The Duke of Milan*), chosen at random, for examples, and found thirty-three instances of "though"

and three of the cognate "although"; twelve of "nay"; twenty of "nor," counting only cases where the word was used in connection with a verb; and twenty-three of "yet" in the conjunctive. I discovered but two instances of "rather," and one of these did not answer the requirements; but I doubt if there is another play of Massinger's where the term is so little used. Though I was not looking for them, I may mention that I came across "at least" three times, and "add to" four times. I feel free to say that there was no other dramatist of his time who employed the conjunctive "though" and "nor" and "yet" to anything approaching Massinger's extent; and, moreover, he used them all in a manner peculiarly his own.

But one more remark. I have hinted at Massinger's continual use of certain stereotyped expressions—certain phrases that he evidently considered his own peculiar property. Here are a few of them: "wash an Ethiop," "to the height," "'tis above wonder," "here I fix," "no more remembered," "rise up such a wonder," "these so rare" (perfections), "I well may call them so," "though yet I never," "mark'd out the great example for," "till now I ne'er was happy," "this I foresaw," "at his devotion," "I am o'erwhelmed with wonder," "what prodigy is this?"; and such as "for all other titles but take away from that," "in herself does comprehend all goodness," "too many and too sad examples," "where our own weight will sink us," "with this kiss I seal your pardon," and "on my knees pay the duty I owe your goodness."[1] The frequency of his

[1] A fuller list will be found in Boyle's article. It is not to be supposed that these phrases were *never* used by other writers: many of

invocations and blessings and his allusions to surgery have been pointed out by Boyle; and he occasionally uses "with other his" for "with his other," and adverbs as adjectives (as in "these often stands"); while his fondness for classical commonplaces has been noted by Swinburne.[2]

them are to be found, though not to any extent, in both Beaumont and Fletcher, amongst others; but, while they are rare in other writers, they are common in Massinger. Boyle is mistaken in thinking the use of plurals where singulars might be expected (*e.g.*, "strengths" for "strength") peculiar to Massinger.

Cruickshank adds a few words, of which the most marked are "magnificent" (for "munificent"), "nil ultra," "apostata," "embryon," "libidinous," "frontless" (used to qualify "impudence"). He refers to Massinger's frequent omission of the relative pronoun; but the number of dramatists to whom this is attributed as a special trait, by various scholars, is amazing.

[2] Cruickshank remarks that "the characters in Massinger are very fond of blushing; references to the talkativeness of women are frequent; metaphors from the sea and sailing are very common; people are fond of saying that they mean to do something, but they do not know what [this is common in Fletcher also, who was probably indebted for it to Shakespeare]; the exact courtier kneels and kisses the robe of a lady or her foot, and is sometimes rebuked for doing so." He further points out Massinger's dislike for suicide and dueling. He considers "such alliteration as . . . 'heaven and hell,' 'personated passion' " one of Massinger's chief characteristics. I should hardly so describe it. It is common also in Field, among others.

## *Massinger's Dramatic Craftsmanship.*

MASSINGER'S finest dramatic quality is his constructive power. He builds well and solidly; his exposition is capital; and he realizes (no one better) the necessity for clearness; but, the pupil of Fletcher in stagecraft, he lacks his master's ability to create suspense, and generally fails in his climax, because his verse

is not equal to the requirements of tragic situations, and because he allows the orator and the debater in him to overcome the dramatist and the playwright when the crisis is reached. He begins magnificently, and ends inadequately.

## *The Style of William Rowley.*

THERE are others the characteristics of whose verse need to be known; but it will not be necessary to deal with them at the same length as with the main three.

First let us consider William Rowley. In "E. S." I said, "Rowley at his worst is easily recognizable; at his best, not so easily." I am not so sure now as I was then that he is easily to be recognized when at his worst. The utterly formless poet may never be quite so hard to distinguish as the formal, ultra-conventional, unoriginal writer; but, unless he has some definite characteristic—unless, that is to say, he falls into a convention of his own—it may be hard to differentiate between him and other careless or formless writers. But there is another circumstance about Rowley that helps to make him difficult for the investigator: he is very variable. I realized that when I wrote: "There has never been quite enough distinction drawn between Rowley the poet and Rowley the hackwork playwright. Sometimes his verse is far more prosaic and mechanical than Massinger's, sometimes fearfully disjointed and careless, sometimes regular and full of a simple beauty." It seems to me now that all differentiators in this field of scholarship have been too ready to father upon Rowley all the

rough and unscannable verse which circumstances seemed to permit. I make no exception of myself. Thus I found in *The Knight of Malta* a writer abounding in strange constructions, peculiar accentuations, trochaic lines, irregular meter, slurred syllables, improper run-ons, and inharmonious rhymes. This work I declared to be "very like William Rowley"; but I did not go so far as positively to identify the two.

Rowley uses a great deal of prose. His verse, as I have said, differs greatly in the various plays of his which we possess, and, if resolved into its constituents, would, I am convinced, yield very conflicting results. It would be well worth the while of some scholar to do this. The little I have done in that direction is to make a partial comparison of IV. 1 of *All's Lost by Lust* with III. 3 of *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*. I give the results here, in percentages, for what they are worth:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of anapæstic lines, | AL | 13.1; | SG | 7.3 |
| Percentage of trochaic lines, | AL | 3.2; | SG | *nil* |
| Percentage of rhyming lines, | AL | 5.2; | SG | 40 |
| Percentage of short lines, | AL | 4.2; | SG | 5.5 |
| Percentage of feminine endings, | AL | 36.6; | SG | 20 |
| Triple endings, percentage of feminine endings, | AL | 5.0; | SG | *nil* |
| Percentage of feminine endings of more than one word, | AL | 32.4; | SG | 18.2 |

Miss P. G. Wiggin, in a "Radcliffe Monograph," and Dr. C. W. Stork, in Volume 13 of the University of Pennsylvania's "Publications in Philology and Literature," have dealt with the metrical characteristics of Rowley. The former credits him with masculine endings, run-on lines, and the use of a number of unac-

cented syllables, his feminine endings being generally less than one in four, with very few triple endings, and his run-on lines usually one in four. She lays most stress, however, on the fact that he does not, like Middleton, mainly confine his metrical irregularities to the opening foot of a line or to the one following the cæsura. This is quite true; but the question is, was this deliberate on Rowley's part, or, as I fear it was, the result of a defective sense? The result in either case is that his work is not easily distinguishable from that of any other playwright of the time who wrote in verse without being by instinct a metrist. Dr. Stork is more helpful when he points to Rowley's habit of letting a pause take the place of an accented syllable, as in the line from *A Match at Midnight*,

"Set time and place then, with time's old friend."

He refers, as every one who deals with the subject must do, to the verse's harshness and to the irregularity of its internal rhythm. He finds two distinct styles, the one being moderately end-stopt, stilted, and regular (this being the style usually employed in his dignified speeches), and the other (the style of his humorous passages, when they are not in prose), loose stuff of the Fletcherian brand, with numerous unaccented syllables, a variation from the Fletcher mode being that the verse is often run-on. Dr. Stork also makes a strong point of the perfect fitting of Rowley's half- and quarter-lines, though in another place he recognizes his liability to indulge in short lines. For myself, I can only say that I do not notice any particularly ardent desire on Rowley's part to make his half-lines fit into a rigidly

pentametrical system. There is one other thing Dr. Stork says to which strong exception must be taken: this is, that "Massinger is by no means an easy dramatist to discriminate from Rowley." Such an opinion is positively amazing.

Rowley, when collaborating, was generally given the comedy; but there is something to be said for Swinburne's view that his genius was rather for the tragic. His comedy is usually of a simple, hearty, good-humored, clowning order, destitute of subtlety, and with a childish fondness (which he shared with Shakespeare) for verbal quips and puns. He was essentially a romantic, not in the least a realist, either in tragedy or in comedy. In his serious work he showed a capacity for the drawing of great, heroic characters, creatures of none of that complexity which makes up human nature, beings that are ideal rather than real. There is a good deal of vulgarity and coarseness in Rowley's comedy; but there is often a refreshing whimsicality about it; and there can be no doubt that he had a finer moral sense than that far greater writer who was so often his literary partner, Thomas Middleton.

## *The Manner of Shirley.*

SHIRLEY carries to greater lengths the semi-prosaic tendency of Massinger's verse, employing pauseless weak endings more frequently. Polished but conventional, skillful but feeble, full of fancy but destitute of imagination, he is often pleasing, but rarely great. His knowledge of stage requirements is noticeable throughout his plays. His great fault is the bombastic

and absurd language he indulges in when striving for sublimity and imaginative flights; and when he attempts pathos he is fondly extravagant and feebly imitative. He follows his predecessors in their extravagances, but is incapable of the passionate earnestness that makes theirs endurable, and even admirable. For the gloriously wild imagination and the genuine rapture of the Elizabethan dramatists, he offers us false elevation and a strained fancy. The "brave translunary things" of Marlowe sink in the last days of our greatest dramatic period to such carefully considered twaddle as "hiding a lover in one's tears" and "the death of a hundred nightingales," because of a lady's expression of weariness of their song. He is original in his plots, and opens and conducts his plays with much skill. Though not great as a humorist, he shows keen powers of observation, and is sometimes witty. His women take much the same view of the practical nature of chastity as Fletcher's. As for his versification he very often pronounces as a dissyllable the final "tion" in such words as "destruction," "execution," and all too frequently ends his lines with adjectives, conjunctions, and weak nominatives. Thus, in *The Witty Fair One*, we read,

> "The more I would discharge this new guest, it
> Strengthens itself within me."

In the same play, there is a fine instance of an improper ending:

> "Perfectly. But I lose time: Sir Nicholas
> Treedle expects me this night in the country."

## *The Tokens of Shakespeare.*

IT may be presumed that it would be an insult to the reader to detail the characteristics of the verse of Shakespeare. Every scholar knows the work of the greatest dramatist of them all, and feels, rightly or wrongly, that he cannot be mistaken in regard to the master's touch; yet, as a matter of fact, there is nothing peculiarly distinctive about Shakespeare's versification. That is not said to his discredit; on the contrary. It does not brand him as the average versifier; but rather as the master technician. If there is little that the discriminator can take hold of, it is because the poet knew his art to perfection. Where the lesser man carried this or that practice to extremes, Shakespeare maintained a well-nigh perfect balance. He is neither a wooden devotee of the masculine ending nor a fluid pursuer of the feminine; he neither emasculates his verse by an overproneness to such a combination of the weak ending and the run-on line as causes it to degenerate into something near akin to prose nor adheres slavishly to the old-fashioned, rigid end-stopt principle. In everything he observes the golden mean; and in nothing is the glorious perfection of his art more noticeable than in the distribution of his pauses. There were others of the Elizabethans who mastered that art; but none of them so completely as Shakespeare did; yet even that scarcely gives sure footing for the discernment of the presence of Shakespeare in any play.

How then is this to be found? The out-and-out Shakespearean will of course say that his masterly char-

acterization and his depth of thought make him unmistakable; but no scholar who possesses both an unprejudiced mind and a real knowledge of Shakespeare's contemporaries will attempt discrimination on such grounds. Depth of thought was not the prerogative of Shakespeare; nor was he the only one capable of conceiving and depicting characters that live and bear within them the seeds of immortality. Nor yet is one justified in assuming that his characterization is always sound: Cloten is an example to the contrary. Shakespeare, after all, was not a god: he was human; he wrote at times below his ordinary high standard; he was not always the great thinker we know him to have been; his characterization is occasionally weak; his largeness of view is not always manifest. Almost the most uncritical thing that can be done in Elizabethan literary investigation is to say that because a passage is superlatively fine, either for its thought or its expression, it must be Shakespeare's, or conversely, that because flaws, whether of reasoning or of style, are to be found in any passage it cannot be his. I do not, of course, wish to argue that nothing can be too stupid or too wretchedly put together to be regarded as possibly his. One would no more be justified in adopting such an attitude than in regarding as possibly the work of Earl Balfour a letter containing errors of taste, grammatical blunders, mistakes in spelling, and other indications of illiteracy, of vulgarity, and of stupidity. There are levels to which Shakespeare at his very worst could never descend; but assuredly he was not always at his top, and was frequently careless; and this tendency to carelessness was always more likely

to display itself in work that was not wholly his than in work that was.

If then we cannot with any degree of certainty distinguish the touch of Shakespeare either by versification or by greatness of content, what have we to go upon? There are, I think, two very good tests: the one is his sovereign mastery of words, a quality in which he is approached by none of his fellows, save Middleton, and then only very occasionally; the other is the unique condensation of matter which gives to many of his utterances a crabbedness of expression which is at times somewhat disconcerting. He is apt to pack more thought into a sentence than it can conveniently carry. The character of his verbal quibbling is also quite individual. It is, of course, true that scenes showing none of these characteristics may be Shakespeare's: that is a proposition that I would not think of denying; all I say is that, where we find these characteristics, or any of them, there is good reason to infer his presence. That is to say, their absence implies little; their presence implies much. And, over and above all, there is this to be said, that, if the mechanism of Shakespeare's verse affords us no certain footing for our purpose, its music is quite individual.

## *The Drama of Daborne.*

AS Daborne is known to have collaborated with Fletcher on one occasion, he must be considered here, even though I am of the opinion that none of his work is to be found among the plays to be discussed. Boyle pronounced him to be present in both *Thierry* and

*The Bloody Brother;* but he made out an exceedingly poor case. Fleay, who had a much keener scent, thought he was to be seen in *The Honest Man's Fortune;* but his view was probably predetermined by his identification of the play with the one in which Daborne is known to have been concerned with Fletcher, Field, and Massinger; and, as the hands of these three are all perceptible, the preconception was understandable.

The characteristics of Daborne on which Boyle relies for his two identifications are (1) the omission of the relative in the nominative to an extent unequaled in any other writer of the time save Wilkins; (2) the omission of "to" before the infinitive "more frequently than other dramatists"; (3) the habit of "making the same subject do duty for two sentences without further connection. He leaves out the personal pronoun in the nominative like the relative [*sic*] and sometimes leaves a part of the sentence to be guessed at by the reader to an unusual extent." The value of Boyle's "proofs" is shown by the fact that he gives not a single instance of No. 2 from either *The Bloody Brother* or *Thierry*, and of No. 3 only two instances from the former, neither of which applies (he actually treats "why" as a subject). Therefore, if these two characteristics of Daborne are really of importance, Boyle has in fact given excellent reason for denying that author's presence in the two plays concerned. As a matter of fact, neither trait is of much consequence. Each of them occurs frequently enough in almost every Elizabethan dramatist, and the average number of times that each is found in Daborne is about twice per act. (Boyle swells the ex-

amples of No. 3 to about four per act; but almost half the instances he cites are not true instances of this habit.) As regards No. 1, he quotes thirty-nine legitimate cases from Daborne's two plays, eight cases in what he regards as the Daborne part of *Thierry*, and six cases in what he considers Daborne's share in *The Bloody Brother*. This at least does not establish a negative, as do his other two "proofs"; but it does not go far toward the establishment of his case; for, though it may perhaps be granted that the omission of the relative in the nominative is more than ordinarily common in Daborne, as in Wilkins, it is common enough in other dramatists of the time to render it unsafe to draw from it conclusions not supported by other evidence.

There is a characteristic of Daborne's verse to which Boyle failed to draw attention; yet it is so marked that it is hard to understand how any one could miss it. I refer to his proneness to the introduction of a six-foot line. Almost every dramatist of the time introduced an occasional Alexandrine; but Daborne really seems not to have been able to distinguish between it and a pentameter. Daborne is a very poor versifier indeed, and is apt to degenerate into sheer doggerel when he essays rhyme, as in:

> "Nay, we'll entreat you stay awhile. Come, let's in.
> From this day to expect my happiness I'll begin."
> (*The Poor Man's Comfort*, I. 1.)

## *The Hand of Field.*

WHEN we come to consider Field, we are face to face with the greatest difficulty that confronts the student of these plays. Field was undoubtedly the disciple of Beaumont, and it is by no means easy to discriminate between the two. The likeness extends not merely to the general character of his work, but also to the form of the verse itself. As in Beaumont, we find rhymes in the midst of the blank verse, and the blank verse turning to prose; but he is fonder of moral couplets than his master. He not seldom uses Latinisms, and sometimes puts his sentences or phrases into peculiar form to suit the meter; and, like Beaumont, he has a fondness for the verbal repetitive tricks of the older dramatists, as, in *Amends for Ladies* (IV. 1),

"You put me down, yet will not put me down."

Field is one of the sprightliest and most jovial of the humorists of his time, with a rattling turn for wit and the invention of comic situations; and his funny scenes are not only well contrived, but also excellently carried out. His coarseness, which is considerable, is so frank and full of drunken carelessness as to be tolerable; and, since he has a good knowledge of human nature, some of his strokes of humorous delineation of character (degenerating nearly always into burlesque) are singularly happy. He is as fond of mock-heroic as Beaumont, though his variety is wanting in the ease that marks Beaumont's employment of the medium, and the rhymes are not as natural and as unobtrusive as in the work of his greater rival; but on the other hand it must

be said that Field's burlesque has more *raison d'être*. As a satirist, his shafts are directed principally against lords and women; and in his treatment of the latter he alternates between distrustful bitterness and loving admiration. His serious work is also like Beaumont's; and his pathos is of much the same simple and telling kind.

Attempts have been made by Gayley and Sykes to distinguish between Field's vocabulary and that of Beaumont. Sykes also points out Field's fondness for references to clothes and tailors and the crumpling of bands. Among his notable words are "continence" (and "continent"), "integrity," "importune," and "innocency."

To distinguish between the work of the two men, it is to be noted that Beaumont uses the central pause much more than Field does, in the latter the final pause preponderating. As it was very necessary to discover some basis of discrimination, I instituted twenty-two tests between Beaumont (as seen in *The Woman-hater* and *A King and no King*) and Field (as seen in *The Fatal Dowry*[1] and his two comedies). No less than eighteen of these yielded positive results. Allowing a 10 per cent margin on each limit (so that Field's 5 to 60 per cent for final couplets becomes 4.5 to 66), I obtained the following, it being understood that figures lower than

[1] I had better record here my division of this play, as I am thus using it as a basis for my purpose. I credit Massinger with I. 1b (from Novall senior's entry to Liladam's exit), 2a, c, II. 2b (an insertion of half-a-dozen lines—four verses—beginning with the second Creditor's speech), III. a (to Rochfort's exit), IV. 2, 3, V. 1c, 2. Field is responsible for I. 1c, 2b (from "I have begun well" to "Provided these consent"), II. 1, 2a, c, III. c (last thirty speeches), IV. 1, 4, V. 1b (Liladam's second-last speech). The rest of the play is joint work—at least, both hands are to be seen in it. Whether or no the two men collaborated, I feel tolerably certain that the play underwent revision by Massinger.

the lowest mentioned or higher than the highest are indicative of neither poet:

| | *Pointing to B* | *Indeterminate* | *Pointing to Fd* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rhyme | 1.6-5 | 5.1-9.1 | 9.2-19 |
| Final couplets | -4.1 | ..... | 4.5-66 |
| Speeches (proportion to lines) | 33 -47.4 | 22.1-32.9 | 7.7-22 |
| Speeches of less than five feet | 39.8-57.6 | 9 -39.7 | -8.9 |
| Speeches ending medially | 52 -56.1 | 24 -51.9 | 9 -23.9 |
| Self-contained speeches | 18.4-24.9 | 25 -51.4 | 51.5-88 |
| Single-line speeches | 42.9-57.6 | 15 -42.8 | -14.9 |
| Speeches ending with medial feminine endings | 56.3-62.8 | 38.4-56.2 | -38.3 |
| Speeches ending in short lines | 9 -17.8 | ..... | -6.8 |
| Short lines | 6.4-13.5 | 5.6-6.3 | -5.5 |
| Double endings | 20.9-37 | 12.4-20.8 | 5.4-12.3 |
| Triple and quadruple endings | 1.1-2.25 | ..... | 0 |
| Lines divided between speakers | 9.6-19 | 5.9-9.5 | 0.8-5.8 |
| Run-on lines | 30.9-37.1 | 23.6-30.8 | 16.2-23.5 |
| Improper run-on lines | 2.8-13.75 | 2.3-2.75 | -2.2 |
| Unstressed endings (percentage of nominal pentameters) | 38.6-59.9 | 60 -80.4 | 80.5-88 |
| Medial pauses | 56.2-65.1 | 35.8-56.1 | 18.3-35.7 |
| Pauses on unstressed syllables | 30.5-62.3 | 28.3-30.4 | 13 -28.2 |
| Pauses on wrongly stressed syllables | 4.3-5.8 | 5.9-6.6 | 6.7-12.3 |
| Breathings on unstressed syllables | 33.5-46.9 | 29.3-33.4 | 21.3-29.2 |

With some dramatists such tests would be of considerable value: with Beaumont they are, in my opinion, of comparatively little, because he seems, during his brief career, to have attained no stability of style. As regards Field, we have scarcely sufficient data. The two comedies he wrote alone are both early efforts; and we cannot say positively how he developed, though *The Fatal*

*Dowry* is a late work, dating apparently 1617. Yet I am prepared to believe that, if some enthusiastic scholar with the advantage of youth and the time to spare for the purpose, will apply these tests (not taking my figures, but working out his own, so as to have a thoroughly sound and satisfactory basis) to the plays that are in question as between Beaumont and Field, he may go nearer to solving the problem than any one has yet done.

## *The Individuality of Jonson.*

AMONG the writers I am dealing with here, there are six whose presence should ordinarily not be hard to detect—when, that is to say, their individuality has free scope. These six are Fletcher, Middleton, Massinger, Shakespeare, Daborne, and Webster. On the other hand, there are seven whom it is far from easy to recognize with certainty—Beaumont and Field, because of their likeness to each other; D'avenant and Shirley, because their verse was not peculiar to themselves, but was in accordance with the conventions of their day; Ford and Brome, because of their regularity; and Rowley, because of his variability and the difficulty of discerning any method in his metrical madness. Tourneur occupies a medial position, inasmuch as his style was very individual among the men of his own day, but is not easily distinguishable from the style of the men of the succeeding era, so that to be sure of him we must be sure of the period of the work that we assume to be his; and a similar medial position is occupied by Ben Jonson, for quite other reasons. If we seek to distinguish Jonson by the character of his verse alone, our task will be diffi-

cult: for it is regular, with no outstanding feature, save his employment of triple endings more frequently perhaps than any other dramatist with the exception of Middleton and Fletcher. It is, then, rather by the content of his verse than the form of it that we have to judge of his presence, and, though this is a less safe means of determination, it is not without its value. In this connection, his passion for detail is of no little importance. He was always the scholar, always the pedagogue, always the cataloguer. His humor is in its satiric strength very different from the easy gaiety of Fletcher and the playful drollery of Beaumont, and his wit is brilliant in the extreme. He loved to display "humours" and to depict hypocrites and charlatans and parasites. Fond of airing his great learning, he yet remained thoroughly English, the most English perhaps of all the playwriters of his time, as he was the most observant, the most humorously pictorial.

Crawford seems to think his use of the double "or," as in "Or out of patience or necessity" (*The New Inn*, IV. 3) peculiarly characteristic; but I doubt if much can be built upon it. It may be pointed out that even among Elizabethans Jonson's vocabulary of expletives was an unusually large one. Some very dignified scholars may think this far too trivial a matter to be even noticed, but there are often safer deductions to be drawn from unpremeditated trivialities than from more measured utterances. Just because Jonson's vocabulary in this respect was a large one, the bearing on him is less than on others; but, as I have mentioned it here, I may as well speak of it now in connection with other dramatists. Jonson's chief oaths and ejaculations are "'slight,"

"'slid," "'sdeath," "heart," "tut," "Lord," "'fore God," and "for God's sake." Field is another with a particularly long list, the commonest being "pish," "'sfoot," "heart" and "'sheart," "'slight," and "by this light," "'zoons," "by Heaven," "damn me," and "God-a-mercy." No other prominent dramatist of the time uses "pish" so frequently as he does, though Middleton also is fond of it (using also the variant "push"). Fletcher employs a considerable variety, without showing partiality for any save "by Heaven." Beaumont is sparing, confining himself mainly to "by Heaven" and "by this light." Rowley's favorite ejaculation is "tush," which he employs more frequently than any one else. Ford favors "pish" and "phew." Middleton uses a great variety, including, besides "pish" and "push," "mass" and "by the mass," "life," and "'sfoot." Daborne uses "'sheart," "zounds," "'sfoot," and "tush." Massinger indulges little in ejaculations.

## *The Methods of Middleton.*

AS I purpose dealing at length elsewhere[1] with the qualities of Middleton's verse, I shall here cut my remarks upon the subject shorter than I should otherwise do. The characteristics of his early work are very different from those of his later period, when he had developed a manner entirely his own. It is only the developed Middleton with whom we need concern ourselves here.

One of the most marked characteristics of his verse is his employment of feminine endings, his use of tri-

[1] In a monograph as yet incomplete.

ple and quadruple endings being unequaled even by Fletcher. A large proportion of these feminine endings consist of more than a single word, the structure being deliberately brought about by the introduction of such words as "sir" and "madam"; the latter, being trochaic, gives the verse a very distinctive character. He also uses the Fletcher extra emphatic syllable. He resembles Fletcher, moreover, in the extent to which he strews extra syllables throughout his lines. Strangely enough, the prevalence of anapæstic and slurred feet is accompanied by an attenuation of words, so that we get "affliction" used as a four-syllable word. His length of line is very irregular. He remained to the end wedded to the end-stopt line, but made also a free use of central pauses, giving his verse a fluidity that it would not otherwise have possessed. He made practically no use of the weak ending.

His vocabulary is very marked, even though most of the words composing it are the property of many of his fellows also. Special attention may, however, be directed to his fondness for "yon" and "yonder," "especially," "alate," "e'en," "comfort" and "comfortable," and "shine," as a noun. Of his tricks of construction, the most remarkable are his habit of making subordinate what would naturally be the principal clause of a sentence; a frequent use of "I thank," as a subordinate clause in the manner just referred to, as in "He came in a good time, I thank him for it" (*No Wit*, II. 3); the employment of emphasizing or confirmatory phrases beginning with "That" or "There," as in

> "And know it to be mine. There lies the blessing"
> (*Women beware Women*, I. 1);

the use of reflective utterances beginning "How" or "What" or "Here"; conditional approval expressed by "I'll say that for"; the employment of a qualifying adverb with "welcome," as in "You're much preciously welcome" (*Your Five Gallants*, IV. 1); the use of the superlative followed by "that ever," no other dramatist approaching him in the employment of this form of expression; and a habit (more frequent in him than in any other) of attaching ability to inanimate things, as in

> "Now for a welcome
> Able to draw men's envies upon man."
> (*Women beware Women*, III. 1.)

Much more might be said about Middleton, for he has many characteristics that make his work very distinctive; but I have already said enough to give the student some few of the many means by which his touch may be recognized. Others will be referred to only if the occasion should arise when individual plays are being considered.

## *The Qualities of Other Candidates.*

FOR the handiwork of all these dramatists there is good reason for us to look in the plays that go under the names of Beaumont and Fletcher; but there are also a few others whose characteristics must be considered, though hardly at such length as to warrant separate treatment.

### (a) *D'avenant.*

The verse of D'avenant is deplorable at times, almost indistinguishable from prose, as may be seen from

the following from the opening scene of *News from Plymouth:*

> "This is your region, Topsail, for you seamen
> Love to converse of plenty where you may
> Be cozened for your ware and meat, and think
> Such negligence becomes a noble spirit
> As well as thrift a lean attorney or
> Fat alderman, until your mercer and
> Your man that squeezes your lusty wine of Greece
> Or brisk vin-dy, remove from's smoky habitation
> In the town unto your manor-house;
> There ride in triumph o'er your conquered land,
> As if he did bestride my Lord Mayor's horse,
> As if your meadows were Cheapside and all
> Your woods the just precincts of his own ward."

This is almost as obscure in sense as it is musically unrhythmical. One would suppose that verse so bad as D'avenant's, so unscannable, and with the freedom of the run-on line carried to such ridiculous lengths, would be so unique that his touch anywhere would be easily discernible; but there were others of the later men whose verse was equally tuneless.

### (b) *Richard Brome.*

Brome never dropped into the slipshod manner of D'avenant. His verse was pedestrian enough, but never lacking in a measure of dignity, never contemptible, as was such verse as that from which I have just quoted. He happily remained old-fashioned, instead of yielding to the literary hooliganism of his day. He is quite easy to distinguish from the later men whose contemporary he was; but he is not easy to distinguish from the men of an earlier generation, the regularity and character-

lessness of his verse being such as to make it possible to have proceeded from far greater men in their less inspired moments. Here is a sample from the opening scene of that admirable comedy *A Jovial Crew:*

> "Can there no means be found to preserve life
> In thee, but wandering like a vagabond?
> Does not the sun as comfortably shine
> Upon my gardens as the opener fields,
> Or on my fields as others far remote?
> Are not my walks and greens as delectable
> As the highways and commons? Are the shades
> Of sycamore and bowers of eglantine
> Less pleasing than of bramble or thorn hedges,
> Or of my groves and thickets than wild woods?
> Are not my fountain waters fresher than
> The troubled streams where every beast does drink?
> Do not the birds sing here as sweet and lively
> As any other where? is not thy bed more soft
> And rest more safe than in a field or barn?
> Is a full table which is called thy own
> Less curious or wholesome than the scraps
> From others' trenchers, twice or thrice translated?"

Not only is this verse infinitely superior to what D'avenant ordinarily gives us in his dramas, but it has a clarity, a simplicity, a straightforwardness, which cannot be found in that writer. It is to be remarked that Brome was one of the most particular of the dramatists in making the several parts of his divided lines fit.

### (c) *Ford.*

Ford is puzzlesome. As Dr. F. E. Pierce pointed out in an admirable paper on the collaboration of Dekker and Ford ("Anglia," 1912), his plays "fall into two

distinct groups, as unlike each other in certain metrical details as the work of two separate men. In a collaborated play he might use either manner, according to date of composition; but it is highly improbable that he would use both styles in one play written at one time." From tables given by Dr. Pierce we learn that in *Love's Sacrifice* and *'Tis Pity* the percentage of rhyming lines in the total number of pentameters is from 5.5 to 6.9, whereas in his other five *solus* plays it ranges from 0.1 to 2.5; the percentage of double endings to unrhyming lines is 14.9, as contrasted with from 36.7 to 60.3; the percentage of run-on lines to unrhyming lines is about 40, as against a somewhat higher figure; and the percentage of triple endings to unrhyming pentameters is from 0.3 to 0.9, as compared with from 4.7 to 12.9. These figures seem to imply a considerable lapse of time between the writing of *Love's Sacrifice* and *'Tis Pity* and the writing of the others, and also that the two that stand apart are much the earlier in date. They are indeed known definitely to be earlier than one of the remaining five, *The Ladies' Trial.*

It may be noted that the percentages of those portions of *The Sun's Darling* which Dr. Pierce gives to Ford all come within the limits of the later group, except as regards rhyme, to which no heed need be given, inasmuch as rhyme was probably thought fitting to the subject. The implication is that Ford had already arrived at his later style by 1623-4, when *The Sun's Darling* was produced. Similarly, in regard to *The Witch of Edmonton* the Ford portions (to judge by Dr. Pierce's figures) are all in the later style, with the exception of the rhyming figures, which are intermedi-

ate between the early and the late plays. The results of this investigation may be tabulated thus:

| | LS | 'TP | WoE | SD | 5 late plays |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rhyme | 5.5 | 6.9 | 4.1 | 47.7 | 0.2-2.5 |
| Double endings | 14.9 | 14.9 | 37.3 | 39.2 | 36.7-60.3 |
| Run-on lines | *c*40 | *c*40 | 50 | 46.3 | over 40 |
| Triple endings | 0.3 | 0.9 | 5 | 8.2 | 4.7-12.9 |

It may not unreasonably be deduced from these figures (though Dr. Pierce did not push the argument to its logical conclusion) that *Love's Sacrifice* and *'Tis Pity* were considerably earlier in date than 1621, when *The Witch of Edmonton* was written. If so, it is probably only the second—the commoner—of the two styles of Ford which need concern us.

There is not very much, as may be seen, in the mechanism of his verse to mark him out from others; but Mr. Sykes, in his valuable "Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama," comes to our assistance with vocabulary clues, pointing out the dramatist's extreme fondness for the words "bosom," "bounty," "thrive," "thrift" and "thrifty," "fate," "penance," "forfeit" (noun), and "antic"; but the least frequently used of all those he cites, "sift," is perhaps the most important, because it is the word in least general use. Ford has a habit of contracting "do ye" and "to ye" into "d'ee" and "t'ee"; and, though this is not absolutely confined to him, there is certainly no other dramatist who employs these contractions with anything approaching his frequency. He is also given to two-word double-ending rhymes, as is Middleton. Mr. William Wells has also directed my attention to his liability to use "all what," instead of "all that." Finally, mention may be made of the vulgar

stupidity of Ford's comic scenes, the haunting beauty of some of his saddest lines, and the rhetorical nature of much of his prose and some of his verse; his care to make his broken lines fit one another pentametrically, variations from this custom being but few; his habit of causing a character to repeat the final words of another (see *Broken Heart*, where there are no fewer than nine examples); his employment of duplication of word and phrase, not, as with other dramatists, somewhat indiscriminately, but deliberately, to achieve emphasis, his manner of using it being therefore in many cases quite distinctive; and his use of the objective "ye," in which he comes second to Fletcher among the men of his time.

### (d) *Tourneur.*

No one will get a proper idea of the versification of Cyril Tourneur until that writer is freed from responsibility for *The Revenger's Tragedy*—that is to say, till he is deprived of his principal claim to greatness. The two plays with which his name is associated are so utterly unlike in the respective qualities of their verse that the general acceptance of a single authorship for the two is one of the most amazing things in Elizabethan scholarship. It is the more remarkable in that the external evidence for Tourneur's authorship of the greater play is such as, whether rightly or wrongly, is treated with contempt in some other cases. It is not merely that there is a difference in the styles of the two plays: there is, for example, an enormous difference between the early and the late plays of Middleton; but there are two notable facts in connection with the case of Middleton that do not exist in the case of Tourneur. In the first

place, in the early work of the former we can see hints of the later Middleton here and there; whereas in *The Atheist's Tragedy* we find nothing forecasting the work in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. In the second place, Middleton's early style was not individual, but conventional; the later style, so utterly different from it, was adopted deliberately, and in it the poet found himself. The style revealed in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, on the contrary, is not conventional, is not imitative: it is markedly original, a foretaste of the class of verse that was to come into vogue something like a quarter of a century later. The verse of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is of an individuality no less marked and a genius undeniably greater, but as different from that of *The Atheist's Tragedy* as one verse system can well be from another. The style of the one could never develop into the style of the other. If the work of the same author, it must then have been a matter of deliberate adoption; but, while one can readily conceive of a man previously imitative or conventional, as Middleton had been, suddenly stepping out boldly into originality, it is not so easy to imagine one who had already invented for himself an absolutely novel mode of expression deliberately scrapping it, in order to adopt a mode of expression diametrically opposed to it in almost every respect. If Tourneur did that, he was less a great artist than a great experimenter; but he was also absolutely the most amazingly original metrist in the language. To me it seems much simpler and easier to regard the two plays as by two different men; and in fact I hold *The Revenger's Tragedy* to be the product of Thomas Middleton, to whose work alone does its

style show any approximation, as I have tried to show in "Studies in Philology," April, 1926.

Tourneur's style, as seen in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, is pretty much that of Shirley. He does not have many anapæstic lines or any considerable proportion of feminine endings. Improper run-on lines are numerous, and so are weak endings on third syllables that would have been treated by Middleton or Fletcher as triple endings by the insertion of another foot earlier in the line. Something like three-fourths of his speeches end with the line, and about half of them connect with no other by means of opening or final broken lines. He does not employ much rhyme.

### (e) *Webster.*

Webster, like Middleton, wrote the ordinary dramatic verse of his time in his apprenticeship, but developed later a verse bearing some resemblance to—or, to speak more correctly, presenting some of the characteristics of —that of Middleton and Fletcher. Like them, he often crowds a good many syllables into a line; but he does not adopt their frequent use of the two-word double ending. Rupert Brooke, in his "Webster and the Elizabethan Drama," speaks of his "loose, impressionistic iambics, with their vague equivalence and generous handling," and this well describes the character of his verse. Perhaps his most individual characteristic is his habit of beginning a line anapæstically; but his verse is somewhat variable, and now and then bears a distant resemblance to that of Massinger, though without that writer's fondness for run-on lines and weak endings.

There is a much surer test of the presence of Webster

than any afforded by his versification. He is at almost all times and all seasons what may be described as an illustrative satirist. He is constantly girding, and his bitter commentary is usually ushered in by some such phrase as "I have known" or "I have seen" or "I'll tell you." It is often put in the form of a fable, not, however, narrated lingeringly in the manner of the fabulist, but curtly and abruptly, in the manner of the cynic. He never can refrain for long from something in this vein; and this constitutes the strongest sign for the recognition of his presence.

I do not think that a great deal is to be made out of his vocabulary, though there are a few words, such as "mathematical" and "screech owl" that may be specially, though not uniquely, connected with him. Words to which Mr. Sykes draws attention—"noble," "strange," and others—are undoubtedly very common with him; but they are all common enough with others for it to be impossible to make any safe deduction from their occurrence. More importance is to be attached to his frequent use (pointed out by Rupert Brooke) of "Ha!" as an entire speech. His fondness for quibbling is also noteworthy. The same writer has pointed out that in his later works he uses involved sentences, with subordinate clauses, and also that the mind of Webster was "always turning to metaphors of storms and bad weather and especially the phenomena of lightning. He is for ever speaking of men lightening to speech or action." He broods on death and graves, corruption and decay; and women's painting of their faces has a fascination for his satiric pen. His characters have "the trick of commenting on themselves when they are jesting." Dr.

Stoll, in his very valuable work on the dramatist, has commented on his fondness for baiting-scenes and scenes of torture; while Mr. Sykes has drawn attention to his turn for casuistry and to his frequent borrowings from Florio's Montaigne, Sidney's "Arcadia," and Overbury's "Characters," though Mr. Charles Crawford was the first in this field. Mr. Sykes is also of opinion that in his later work Webster adopted a good deal of Heywood's vocabulary; but I doubt if that is the true explanation of the phenomena to which he directs attention.

## *Remnants of Old Drama.*

THERE is also some reason to ask the student to be acquainted with the style of Marlowe, since I join with Mr. William Wells and Mr. J. M. Robertson in finding his hand in one of the plays dealt with here; but, as there is no reason to suspect his presence in any of the attributed plays, there is not the same need for knowledge of his characteristics; and, as he was not of the time of Beaumont and Fletcher, I do not propose to deal with his manner and mannerisms.

## *False Attributions.*

BEFORE proceeding to a detailed consideration of the plays calling for thorough and careful study, let me dispose of those that have been, whether directly or indirectly, wrongly associated with the name of either Beaumont or Fletcher or both.

In a seventeenth-century catalogue *The Unfortunate*

*Lovers* is attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher, and *The Bondman* is entered twice, once to Massinger and once to Fletcher. "*The Bondman*" is definitely claimed by Massinger, and both on external and internal evidence is his, as the other is D'avenant's. Another old catalogue gives *The Lost Lady*, *Love's Cruelty*, and *The New Inn* to Beaumont and Fletcher. Of the first-named there is no need to question Sir William Berkeley's authorship (it is stated by a contemporary letter to be his), and the work shows no sign of either Beaumont or Fletcher. *Love's Cruelty* is, beyond a doubt, Shirley's, both on the external and on the internal evidence; and on equally strong evidence of both kinds *The New Inn* must be attributed to Jonson, though this play will have to be taken into consideration when *Love's Pilgrimage* is under examination, by reason of the close connection between the two.

On September 9, 1653, Moseley entered in the Stationers' Register "A Right Woman, or Women beware of Women," attributing the play to Middleton. On June 29, 1660, he entered "A Right Woman" as by Beaumont and Fletcher. It is hardly to be supposed that this second entry was concerned with the original form of a play subsequently rewritten by Middleton: for in the meantime Middleton's play had been published; and, that being so, an earlier version would hardly be likely to be given to the press by the same publisher. I take it that *A Right Woman* and *Women beware Women* were two distinct plays, the latter being clearly Middleton's not only on the authority of Nathaniel Richards (a good witness), but also on the internal evidence. At the

same time Moseley entered other plays with alternative titles, as follows:

| *Play* | *Author* |
|---|---|
| A Very Woman, or The Woman's Plot | Massinger |
| The City Honest Man, or The Guardian | Massinger |
| The Spanish Viceroy, or The Honour of Women | Massinger |
| Minerva's Sacrifice, or The Forced Lady | Massinger |
| The Noble Choice, or The Orator | Massinger |
| Alexius, the Chaste Gallant, or The Bashful Lover | Massinger |
| The Italian Night-piece, or The Unfortunate Piety | Massinger |
| The Wandering Lovers, or The Painter | Massinger |
| The Judge, or Believe as you list | Massinger |
| The Prisoner, or The Fair Anchoress | Massinger |
| The Crafty Merchant, or The Souldier'd Citizen | Marmion |
| The Nobleman, or Great Man | Tourneur |

In every case, apparently, Moseley was engaged in endeavoring to get two plays through for the one fee. There was a "Crafty Merchant, or Come to my Country house" by Bonen licensed by Herbert for the stage in 1623; and Marmion's *Souldier'd Citizen* was reëntered by Moseley on June 29, 1660, as were Massinger's *The Woman's Plot*, *The Guardian*, *The Honour of Women*, *The Forced Lady*, *The Bashful Lovers* (*sic*), *Believe as you list*, and *The Prisoners* (*sic*). It is plain then that Moseley's dodge had failed, and that he felt obliged, in certain cases at least, to reënter. Warburton gives the show away by entering separately in the list of MSS. that had been in his possession *Minerva's Sacrifice*, *The Forced Lady*, *Believe as you list*, and *The Judge*. He also owned *The Woman's Plot*, *The Honour of Women*, *The Noble Choice*, and *Alexius* (to which he gives the alternative title of *The Chaste Gallant*), as well as *The Crafty Merchant*, which he credits to Marmion. Be-

tween the two sets of Stationers' Register entries, *A Very Woman, The Guardian,* and *The Bashful Lover* were given to the press. The later entries of *The Guardian* and "The Bashful Lovers" are comprehensible only on the assumption that the earlier entries were taken as applying to *The City Honest Man* and *Alexius* respectively.[1] *A Very Woman* was published with the alternative title of *The Prince of Tarent.* The subsequent entry of *The Woman's Plot* and Warburton's listing of it serve to show that it was not identical with *A Very Woman,* and the reëntry at the same time of *A Right Woman* indicates that that play also is not to be identified with *A Very Woman,* as might otherwise have been a very reasonable supposition. It surprises me that none of the critics have identified it with *Cupid's Revenge:* in III. 4 Bacha is termed "a right woman," and the title would be very appropriate. Whether or not Beaumont and Fletcher had anything to do with *A Right Woman,* they assuredly were in no way responsible for *Women beware Women.*

[1] In an article in "The Library" for 1911, entitled "The Bakings of Betsy," with which I was not acquainted when the above was written, Dr. W. W. Greg points out that *A Very Woman* contains no woman's plot, and *Believe as you list* no judge, that *The Guardian* deals with court, and not with city life, that "The Great Man" would be a foolish second title for *The Nobleman,* and that "Henry I and Henry II," clearly entered as a single play, cannot be so. Though I venture only with diffidence to differ with a scholar of the learning and ability of Dr. Greg, I do not share his doubts regarding the *bona fide* character of Warburton's list. It seems to me that his separate entering of plays entered together by Moseley goes a long way towards establishing the genuineness of the list. Warburton may, however, easily have been mistaken as to the extent of his loss, more plays than he had supposed escaping the depredations of his marauding cook: that is altogether another matter.

The claim of *The Inconstant Lady* for consideration rests on the fact that in a list of plays belonging to the King's company it occurs in the midst of a group of Fletcher plays. Unless we are to regard it as foisted in to separate the Fletcher plays into two groups, it would seem to have been looked on as a play by that dramatist. That would be the natural interpretation if the Fletcher plays were merely in these two groups; but they are not; and, anyway, *The Inconstant Lady* shows not a trace of the hand of either Beaumont or Fletcher, and may be credited to Arthur Wilson, to whom (after his death) it was attributed by Moseley in a Stationers' Register entry. Warburton lists it as by "William Wilson."

At the end of the 1661 quarto of *Wit without Money* appears a list of "Plays written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, printed in quarto." This list consists of *Wit without Money*, *The Night-walker*, *The Opportunity*, *The Coronation*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Elder Brother*, *Philaster*, *A King and no King*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Bloody Brother*, *Rule a Wife*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, *The Woman-hater*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Cupid's Revenge*, and *The Noble Kinsman*. This is *The Opportunity's* only claim for consideration. It is quite certainly Shirley's on both the external and the internal evidence. We are reminded of Fletcher in Pisauro's bold tackling of Cornelia; but it is like him only in the method employed, not in the style.

It may or may not be significant that in the above-mentioned list three plays with all of which Shirley had to do should come together. *The Coronation*, included

there, was published in 1640, with an ascription on some copies, but not on all, to Fletcher. It was included in the folio of 1679, though in the meantime it had been claimed by Shirley as his own work, "falsely ascribed to Fletcher." It had indeed been licensed for the stage, in February, 1634-5, as Shirley's (as *The Opportunity* had been the previous November), and it appears among Shirley's plays in the Cockpit list of 1639. There can be no question of its being wholly his; and the evidence in his favor is entirely confirmed by an examination of the play, there being in it no sign of any hand but Shirley's. There is, however, what may be a sign of either alteration or dual authorship. Clarilla's muteness in I. 1, II. 3, and III. 2 is probably an indication of no more than abbreviation; but the description of Demetrius in the list of characters as "supposed son" of Macarius, whereas he is throughout the play treated as the nephew, may have significance.

## *Other Plays Examined.*

IT may be well in this connection to mention five other plays which I examined because they had been claimed, on style, partly or wholly for one or other of our authors, though in no case, so far as I am aware, did the claim meet any acceptance—a circumstance which, of course, in no way proves its incorrectness. Boyle asserted Fletcher's part-authorship of *A New Way to pay Old Debts*. Both the external and the internal evidence are, however, conclusive of Massinger's sole responsibility. Boyle's theory is that Fletcher wrote the first 120 lines of I. 1 (the rest of the scene being rewritten

by Massinger) and the remainder of the play to the end of Act II, there being signs of him also in III. 3. Boyle was, I suspect, led into this error by the presence in the earlier part of the play of trisyllabic feet and emphatic double endings, lines such as

> "You know me
> An easy mistress: be merry; I have forgot all,"

and

> "To see thee curvet, and mount like a dog in a blanket."

But these are not altogether peculiar to Fletcher: Massinger can show a fair number of such lines. Thus, in those portions of the play that Boyle has not questioned to be his, we get

> "And, with my finger, can point out the north *star*";[1]
>
> ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
> "Will cut his neighbour's throat,—and I hope his own *too*";
>
> ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
> "I'll add something unto the heap, which shall be yours *too*";
>
> – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
> "A piece of arrogant paper, like the inscriptions."

Passages bearing the most positive marks of being from Massinger's pen can be produced from every one of those scenes that Boyle considers Fletcher's; but I shall content myself with pointing out that they also contain

[1] The speech containing this is pure Massinger:

> "You think you walk in clouds, but are transparent.
> I have heard all, and the choice that you have made;
> And with my finger, can point out the north star
> By which the loadstone of your folly's guided,
> And, to confirm this true, what think you of
> Fair Margaret?"

many of those favorite expressions of Massinger's by which Boyle was guided in giving him a share in so many of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays.

Mr. Phelan considered the "second maiden's tragedy" a work of Massinger's, altered by Fletcher, which seems very like putting the cart before the horse. There is in any case no sign of the handiwork of Fletcher, and, as I pointed out in an article in "Studies in Philology" on *The Revenger's Tragedy* (April, 1926), the style is that of Middleton, whom I believe to be entirely responsible. Beaumont has been suggested as a contributor to *The Tempest;* but I fail to find him there. It has also been suggested that *A Yorkshire Tragedy* is the work of Shakespeare and Beaumont. For my own part, I can see the hand of neither. Finally the late Dr. D. L. Thomas suggested Fletcher's authorship of *Revenge for Honour,* which appears to me to be entirely Glapthorne's. I may add that I was at one time somewhat inclined, as I intimated in an article in "The Modern Language Review," to ascribe a portion of *Cymbeline* to Beaumont, though I did so very hesitatingly, feeling by no means sure of my ground. I am now of opinion that the differences in style to be found in so many parts of that play are due to the circumstance that Shakespeare's work in it is of two widely separated periods. The first part of the vision in V. 6 (usually called V. 4), to the descent of Jupiter, may perhaps be his, but is more probably by some very inferior writer. I no longer think the play underwent a late revision by Massinger.

## *"Sir Thomas Stukeley."*

THERE is one other play that I think it advisable to dispose of here, before proceeding to deal with the major portion of my work. In "Notes and Queries," 1905, I argued in favor of the attribution to Fletcher of a small portion of the play of *Sir Thomas Stukeley*. Despite the extraordinary resemblance to Fletcher's work in the one scene I claimed for him, a restudy more than once since has failed to convince me that the writer is really Fletcher, although practically every verse-test answers in the affirmative. Here indeed we have an example of the fact that it is possible for the ear to detect a difference where the verse-tests tell of identity. Though I now rule it out, I still say that it is not impossible that it may be very early work of Fletcher's: in any case, it must be credited with such a foreshadowing of his style as we find nowhere else. The play is, from that point of view, so important that, without reproducing my "N. and Q." articles, I have thought it advisable to give my present views upon it.

Further study of the play has brought me to the conclusion that the Stukeley portion of it is in the main by Heywood, and that the old Sebastian-Antonio play, portions of which were incorporated, was partly by Marlowe, the glowing magnificence of whose imagination is to be seen in four out of the seven scenes of Act IV. Stukeley's speech in the first scene of this act may perhaps be an insertion by Heywood, to whom scene 3 is due; scene 7 is by a contemporary of Marlowe's, much more wooden and much less gifted in every way; and scene 2 is probably his, though possibly Marlowe's. To

this man (whom I may call "A") belongs also the succeeding chorus, which is hopelessly out of place and should never have been lifted from the old play. Of the two scenes in the very brief final act, the second is by Heywood (with fragments of A's original work in the part succeeding the Italians' entry), while as to the first it is either very corrupt or the work of yet another author. The only other Sebastian-Antonio portions of the play are III. 2a and III. 7, both of which are by another author (X), a man of long-winded sentences. This same writer is responsible for III. 4 from Philip's entry, and is seen overwritten by Heywood in III. 3. Yet another author (Y) gives us the first (the English) version of II. 1 and also II. 2 and II. 6, all three being scenes in which Stukeley does not appear. The second (the Irish) version of II. 1 may possibly be Heywood's, and all the rest of the play is his, with the exception of the scene (I. 2b) which I formerly took to be by Fletcher, and Stukeley's first speech in I. 5, which is by the same writer (whom I may style "Z").

How the play was put together it is not easy to say, but it is quite clear that two separate plays were used, of one (doubtless the "Stewtley" play of December, 1596) Heywood, X, and Y being apparently the authors, while in the other (the earlier) Marlowe and X and A had part. The Stukeley play was presumably patched later by Z; and then the two plays were welded together by Heywood, who did the work particularly badly.

The Antonio play is on the same subject as Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*. In February, 1591-2, Strange's men acted a *Mulomorco* which is more likely to be this play

than Peele's, since the latter was acted by the Admiral's men. In Act II of Peele's play Abdelmalek is addressed as Muly Mollocco; and in this play he is, in III. 2, and in III. 2 alone, called Mullucco and nothing but Mullucco. In the last two acts there is much confusion between the brother and the rival of Abdelmalek.

It was resemblances which I noted between portions of *Stukeley* and the plays of Heywood nearest to it in date and style that led me to the conclusion that the greater part of this patchwork production was from Heywood's pen. Especially was I struck with resemblances to the second part of *Elizabeth* and the two parts of *Edward IV*. (The external evidence concerning Heywood's authorship of this latter brace of plays is weak, but the internal evidence shows the attribution to be justified.) The form in which the play is cast, the apologetic note in the choruses, the thoroughly English character, patriotic, bourgeois, and adventure-loving, the moral tone and the run of the verse all tell of Heywood, and there are one or two of his especial tricks that are reproduced. As, in *2 Elizabeth*, he fastens on to one character (Hobson) a number of strange oaths, of which the most frequently used are "bones a me" and "mother a me," so here we have Curtis using largely "passion o me," "bones a Dod," and "body o me," as well as the Puritan oath "by yea and nay," which is the favorite asseveration of the canting Timothy in *2 Elizabeth*. The idea of the drowned serving as food for haddocks (III. 1) is paralleled in *The Four Prentices* (I. 4); and again in *2 Fair Maid of the West* (IV. 1) we have "Spencer may live . . . among the haddocks."[1] The unusual word "spend-

[1] It occurs also in D'avenant's *News from Plymouth*.

good" (I. 1) is found also in *1 Elizabeth;* "muddy slave" (III. 1) occurs in I. 2 of *1 Edward IV*, while in I. 5 of the same play is "slimy, muddy clowns"; and the word "eternized" (V. 2) is a favorite word of Heywood's, occurring in *1 Fair Maid of the West*, V. 2, and in every act of *The Golden Age*, bar the first. There are moreover references to Stukeley, "that renowned Englishman," in *2 Elizabeth;* and he figures also in Heywood's "Nine Worthies."

My division of the play is not materially different from what it was before; but I must mention one or two circumstances that may be held to show that Heywood's hand has been even busier than I am prepared to admit. The late lamented Rupert Brooke pointed out, in his plea for Heywood's authorship of *Appius* (a plea most strongly urged, and, in my opinion, justly, though I think Webster's share in the play rather larger than Brooke was prepared to admit), Heywood's amusing fancy for crediting every great man with a secretary. This tendency is displayed here (in II. 1 and II. 6) quite absurdly, even the Irish rebel, O'Neill, being thus endowed. Again in that small portion of the play which I have attributed to Z occurs the asseveration "by this flesh and blood" which Heywood uses in III. 1, and which I fancy I have met also in one of his acknowledged plays. "Graceless boy" occurs also both in the Z portion and in Heywood's I. 7; but the run of the verse is altogether different. The importance of the Z portion of the play has never been properly recognized. It was presumably, though not certainly, written before the Stationers' Register entry of 1600 was made; but who could, so early as that, have written in such a style is a

puzzle. In none of Heywood's acknowledged plays is there a trace of such à manner.[2]

Simpson is probably right in saying the play can scarcely date later than 1598 because it contains no hint

[2] I have left this as I wrote it in or about 1915. Since then I have seen an article on the play by that distinguished scholar, Professor J. Quincy Adams ("Journal of English and Germanic Philology," 1916), in which he declares for Heywood's authorship of the bulk of it, regarding him as the reviser and welder of the two old plays. He gives many more proofs of Heywood's presence than I have done; but I notice that all the parallels he adduces with Heywood's acknowledged plays occur in those scenes which I have credited to that writer, with the exception of one passage in III. 7, one in IV. 1 ("And stoops her proud head lower than his knee"), one in IV. 7 ("Dreadful horror dogs thee at the heels," which I do not conceive to be original with Heywood), and this in I. 2b:

"Your master is an ordinary student.

*Page.* Indeed, sir, he studies very extraordinarily";

with which Professor Adams compares this from *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*:—

"Is this not worth the trusting from an ordinary?

*Host.* Nay, if you prate, I shall use you somewhat extraordinary."

This interesting article further points out that in I. 5 Blunt becomes Thump, Spring becomes Sparing, and Curtis does not use his tag, "Bones a dod"; that II. 6 seems detached; that the choruses are Heywood-like in entreating the patience of the auditory and asking them to retain their seats till the end of the play (features of the writer's apologetic custom to which I have referred); that the use of "think" for "imagine" (first chorus: "Think him on the sea") is frequent in Heywood's choruses; that the dramatist departs from fact to make Curtis leave part of his wealth to "the hospital," in accordance with Heywood's fancy for making his characters philanthropical; and that the objection to commanders occupying feather beds while their men sleep on the damp ground, the idea of open-handed hospitality, the glorification of trades, the objection to the arrest of a passenger in a captured ship, the theme of an Englishman returning to prison and perhaps death in order to keep a promise, and a disappointed lover's sudden development of a hatred of his country and a resolve to travel, are all Heywood traits.

of Sebastian's escape from the battlefield. It is to be noted that Peele's play was revived by the Admiral's men in 1598-9.

## *The Lost Plays.*

I MUST not fail to give a few lines to the lost plays. Of *A Right Woman* I have already spoken. It may or may not be identical with *Cupid's Revenge*. It is most reasonable, perhaps, to reckon it among the lost.

A *Madoc*, attributed to Beaumont, was entered in the Stationers' Register in June, 1660, but not printed. If it were entirely the work of Beaumont, its loss is particularly to be deplored.

In 1613 Fletcher is known to have combined with Massinger, Field, and Daborne in the writing of a play for the Lady Elizabeth's company. This may possibly be one of the extant plays; but it cannot be satisfactorily identified with any one of them; and I am inclined to think that it has not come down to us.

In 1619 (according to Lawrence, 1617) Fletcher, Massinger, and Field were at work together on *The Jeweller of Amsterdam* for the King's men; but this certainly is missing.

Fletcher's *Wandering Lovers* may assuredly be identified with *The Lover's Progress;* but his *Devil of Dowgate, or Usury put to Use*, licensed for the King's men October, 1623, may be regarded as lost, the attempts to identify it with extant plays being unsatisfactory.

## *The External Evidence.*

OF the fifty-nine plays that now call for consideration, there is but one—*The Faithful Shepherdess*—with the highest claim to genuineness, a definite claim by the author. Five—*Barnavelt*, *The Birth of Merlin*, *Henry VIII*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *A Very Woman*—depend entirely upon internal evidence. The claim of *The Widow* on external grounds is exceedingly weak; and that of *Thierry* is not at all strong. Of the remaining fifty-one, all but five may be regarded as tolerably certain of their place unless particularly strong internal evidence can be brought against the presence of either Beaumont or Fletcher. Finally, it is to be said of *The Bloody Brother*, *Double Falsehood*, *The Faithful Friends*, *The Laws of Candy*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* that, strong as the external evidence is for every one of them, it does not, for one reason or another, amount to anything like certainty. I may perhaps put the attitude to be adopted to plays of these various classes thus: the right of *The Faithful Shepherdess* to figure here cannot be overthrown by internal evidence; and that of the bulk of the plays, such as *The Humorous Lieutenant*, only for very strong reasons: in the case of *The Bloody Brother* and the others named with it, the presence of one or other of our two authors is to be presumed, and is not to be easily disposed of; while, as regards *Thierry*, though there is a presumption in favor of its authenticity, it is quite assailable; as to *The Widow*, there is no presumption one way or the other; and, for *Henry VIII* and the others destitute of external evidence, it is to be said that the natural

presumption is unfavorable. Every play, however, from *The Faithful Shepherdess* to the five with no external evidence to back up their claims, must be considered purely on merits, without prejudice, without preconceived ideas. Such, whether I have succeeded or not, has been my aim, my desire never being to prove a case, but to arrive at the truth, as may, I think, be seen by my readiness to scrap my former views where they have seemed to me unwarranted, and to shirk no facts unfavorable to my conclusions.

## *The Order Observed Here.*

I HESITATED whether to take the plays in alphabetical order, in probable order of date, in the order in which I had taken them in my original article, in the order in which I have recommended their study, or beginning with the best attested and working down to those dependent entirely upon internal evidence. I have ultimately decided on none of these courses, but to take, first, the plays in which I see Fletcher alone; second, those in which I can name no one but Beaumont and Fletcher; third, those wholly by Fletcher and Massinger; fourth, those by Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger alone; fifth, those in which Shakespeare is concerned; sixth, those in which the hand of Field appears; seventh, those of the remaining plays in which Beaumont took a part; eighth, the remaining plays, in which Beaumont took no part. To take the subjects of examination in this order has advantages that seem to me to outweigh the disadvantages.

## *Division into Chronological Groups.*

THE plays to be considered are divisible into four groups chronologically—those produced prior to Beaumont's death in 1616, those between that date and the commencement of Herbert's Office-book in 1622, those thenceforward till the death of Fletcher, and those that were produced posthumously. Forty-six of the plays may be definitely placed—twenty-four of them in the initial group; one (*Women Pleased*) as belonging, in its existing form, mainly to the second group, but as certainly dating in its original form from the first period; fourteen (*The Laws of Candy, The Queen of Corinth, The Loyal Subject, The Knight of Malta, The Mad Lover, The Humorous Lieutenant, Barnavelt, The Custom of the Country, The Little French Lawyer, The False One, The Double Marriage, The Pilgrim, The Wild-goose Chase, The Island Princess*) in the second group; and seven (*The Prophetess, The Sea-voyage, The Spanish Curate, The Maid in the Mill, The Lover's Progress, A Wife for a Month, Rule a Wife*) in the third group. That leaves thirteen whose position is more or less doubtful.

Of these, *The Noble Gentleman* was licensed and produced posthumously, but probably was written in the first period. *The Fair Maid of the Inn* was also licensed posthumously; but the date of Fletcher's work in it is indeterminate. *A Very Woman*, another fourth-period play, must in its first form have been either first or second period, before Herbert began his entries. *The Night-walker* was licensed long after Fletcher's death,

as corrected by Shirley; but in its first form it must have been before 1622 and probably before 1616.

The outstanding feature about the remaining nine is that none of them figures in Herbert's record. Let it be noted that of the seven plays licensed by Herbert during Fletcher's lifetime there is not the slightest reason to doubt that every one was licensed as a *new* play. The two immediately posthumous plays are in different case. *The Noble Gentleman* has unquestionably undergone alteration, and there is other reason to think that the 1625-6 production was not the original one; and there is at least a possibility that it and *The Fair Maid of the Inn* may have been early plays, largely rewritten, and licensed as new, especially if, as is possible, neither had previously been produced, though, even if they had been "staled with the stage," they might still have been licensed, as, *e.g.*, was Massinger's version of *A Very Woman* in 1634. Of the definitely pre-Herbertian, post-Beaumontian plays there is, besides *Women Pleased*, only one that contains sure signs of revision or allusions that call for a dating during Beaumont's lifetime (though of course one cannot say positively that the others did not suffer revision and that the first version may not have been of early date). That one is *The Wild-goose Chase*, for which there is no reason to infer a date prior to 1616. So far then the presence or absence of the names of plays in the Office-book may be taken as affording a certain line of chronological division, save as regards the two immediately posthumous plays.

Let me explain why I am devoting space to this question: it is because the importance of it in regard

to the chronology of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays has never been sufficiently recognized, and because also the tentative scheme I put forward in "E. S." depends almost entirely upon the reliability and completeness of Herbert's record when taken in conjunction with the actors' lists attached to many of the plays. It is astounding to find Sir Edmund Chambers, the historian of "The Elizabethan Stage," whose great work, despite some amazing blunders (as, for example, when he lists *The Faithful Friends* and *Second Maiden's Tragedy* among lost plays, making the matter worse in the case of the latter by appending a contradictory note to the effect that that often-printed play is extant in MS.), can scarcely be too warmly praised for the enormous industry that has gone to its making—it is astounding, I say, to find him unable to realize the significance of the absence of the name of a play from Herbert's list, the more so as he makes many deductions for which there is very much less warrant. He should at least acknowledge—it is difficult to understand the failure of any one acquainted with the circumstances to do so—the possibility of plays that do not appear in Herbert's Office-book dating from before the death of Shakespeare, with which he purports to close his investigations into the history of the Elizabethan stage; yet, while shutting out a number of Beaumont and Fletcher plays that come in this category, he is so hopelessly inconsistent as to include within his survey *The Witch of Edmonton*, which he must know to lie outside the period. It is included, he says, for the sake of completeness; and it is presumably for the same reason that another late play, *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, is included. But why

be so anxious to make Dekker's record complete, with so little reason, and yet exclude everything of Beaumont and Fletcher's which does not seem to him to possess really strong proof of its right to be there? In the one case he includes absolute impossibilities; in the other, he excludes what he can hardly deny to be at least possibilities. It is an example of the many inconsistencies and contradictions that mar an otherwise excellent work. He argues that there is no certainty that our record of entries of Fletcher plays in Herbert's Office-book is complete; but the chances are greatly in favor of its being so; and he has shown no reason why it should not be so regarded. His assertions of late dates for a number of the plays are, accordingly, absolutely baseless.

Of the nine plays remaining for consideration, four—*Love's Pilgrimage*, *The Bloody Brother*, *Thierry*, and *Four Plays in One*—are entirely indefinite in date, though all critics, save two, are agreed in placing the last-named prior to 1616. Two other plays—*The Nice Valour* and *Beggars' Bush*—are in all probability partly of the first and partly of a later period. Both have clearly undergone revision, and the attachment of Beaumont's verses to the latter in the folio implies a connection between it and that writer. *The Nice Valour* contains an allusion dating 1624 or later; but there is no reason to suppose that that is the date of the original version. *Beggars' Bush* was acted at Court in 1622; but that need not have been the year of the original production. The probabilities, in fact, favor an early date for both these plays; and the likelihood is increased by the absence of actors' lists in the second folio, as they would have been almost certain to carry such lists had the known per-

formances by the King's men been the original ones. *The Faithful Friends* there is reason for dating before 1616.

The prologue to *The Chances* speaks of the author, Fletcher, as dead; but there is nothing to show whether it was written for the original production or for a revival, though that it was for the first performance may be implied. The play contains matter that may have been written after the death of Fletcher; but that fact does not render it necessary for us to regard the work as posthumous. It should date prior to 1622. *The Elder Brother* is also, if the prologue be credited, to be regarded as posthumous. Why then was it not licensed? This play affords, in fact, the only solid reason for supposing the Herbert record to be incomplete, the ground for questioning it on the score of *The Chances* being very indefinite. The difficulty is, then, regarding the three professedly posthumous plays, *The Noble Gentleman*, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, and *The Elder Brother*. The first was certainly twice written, and the posthumous versions of it and *The Fair Maid of the Inn* were probably not the original ones. Despite the prologue, the case of *The Elder Brother* may be similar. It should be partly of either first or second period. I am a sufficient believer in the completeness of the entries of Fletcher's plays as we have them as extracted from Herbert's Office-book to hold that this play was not licensed. If it was only a revision the fact is understandable, for it was only occasionally that plays were relicensed on being rewritten. As I have said, this play is the only real obstacle to a recognition of the completeness of the Herbert entries; for that *The Chances* was not post-

humous may be inferred from the absence in the second folio of an actors' list; for all the plays known positively to have belonged originally to the King's company, except such as had previously been published in quarto, have such lists, and it is hard to imagine that a posthumous late play of Fletcher's would be in the hands of any but the King's men. I hold, then, that *The Elder Brother* was first produced, in another form, during Fletcher's lifetime, and that there is no reason to consider any play not named in the Herbert entries, as we possess them, as belonging to the period of Herbert's mastership, the eleven plays of Fletcher's (including the lost *Devil of Dowgate*) of which Malone tells us being the only ones of that writer's licensed between May, 1622, and 1626.

## *Dates of the Dramatists Concerned.*

THIS work is in no sense a biography of either Beaumont or Fletcher; and, if I give a few particulars about them, it is only because they may have a bearing upon the dating of the plays attributed to them. For a similar reason I must give such particulars also about the other dramatists who collaborated with either of them or who were concerned in the writing of any plays dealt with here.

John Fletcher was born in 1579, and probably began his dramatic career very early in the seventeenth century, since almost all the playwrights of the time began young; and especially is this likely to have been the case with a man of Fletcher's type. According to D'avenant, he "wore the bays" "full twenty years." If that statement be correct, he was writing by 1605. It is

a reasonable surmise that he was at work as early as 1602 or 1603. Even the ultra-cautious Chambers declares that he had almost certainly written for the Queen's Revels before the beginning, about 1608, of his collaboration with Beaumont. As a matter of fact, there is no surmise at all in putting his beginnings before 1608, but there is surmise in setting the beginning of his partnership with Beaumont so early as that year.

Dryden states that the two friends' first success was won with *Philaster*, but that this was preceded by several failures. What these failures were we do not know; but we are told that *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *Monsieur Thomas*, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* were all poorly received. We do not even know whether or not the plays to which Dryden refers were joint productions. The two poets must have been known to one another and to Jonson as early as 1607-8, when each wrote verses on the occasion of the publication of Ben's *Volpone*. It may be presumed that they had already, by that time, gained a place in the theatrical world.

Francis Beaumont, the senior partner, but the younger man, was born in 1584 or 1585, and his poetical career would seem to have begun not later than 1602, when the anonymous "Salmacis" was published. The authenticity of the poem has been questioned, but not with much reason. It seems to be very plainly indicated by the fact that attached to John Beaumont's "Metamorphosis of Tobacco," published the same year, are verses signed "F. B.," containing the lines,

> "My new-born muse assays her tender wing,
> And, where she should cry, is enforced to sing."

There can hardly be a doubt that these verses are Francis Beaumont's; and, as if to make assurance doubly sure, "Salmacis" has commendatory verses by "J. B." There can, then, be little doubt of the future dramatist's having tried out his muse at an early age. For the stage he was certainly writing in 1607, probably in 1606, and quite likely still earlier. The date of the commencement of the famous partnership may be about 1608 or 1609, or it may have been later, or it may have been considerably earlier. If the two worked in conjunction, it does not necessarily mean that neither wrote any plays alone. Fletcher is especially likely to have done so, since he worked with his pen for a living, while Beaumont remained more or less of an amateur, knowing doubtless a certain shortness of funds now and then, but probably never being in dire necessity. In 1606 he "came into money," and in 1613 he married an heiress. It is generally supposed that the partnership then broke up; and indeed Fletcher seems to have married in December, 1612. Fletcher was certainly writing with others in or about 1613; but it is not necessary to suppose therefore that Beaumont had given up playwriting altogether. He died, however, on March 6, 1615-6. Fletcher carried on till August, 1625, when he died of the plague.

Philip Massinger was born in 1583. One might expect from the nature of his genius that he would display little of the precocity of his great contemporaries; and indeed the first we hear of him is in 1613 or 1614; but, as he was then writing in conjunction with Daborne, Field, and Fletcher, he must have had a reputation and an amount of previous experience. He

cannot have begun his stage career before 1606, in which year he left Oxford. He died in March, 1639-40, working up to the end.

William Rowley, who is supposed to have been about the same age as Massinger, was certainly writing in 1607, when a play partly by him was given to the press. That play dates from the reign of Elizabeth; but Rowley's work may have been done later. He was certainly writing for the stage as late as 1624, and probably a good deal later. He seems to have ceased acting at some date between 1625 and 1629. A William Rowley was married in 1637, but whether or not this was the dramatist cannot be said. The date of his death is unknown.

James Shirley was born in 1596, and published his first poem in 1618. He did not, however, go to London, to enter upon a dramatic career, till 1624. He began work almost immediately, a play of his being licensed in February, 1624-5. He worked up till the closing of the theaters.

William Shakespeare was born in 1564. When he came to London is not known; but he was engaged in dramatic work (probably only play-patching) as early as 1592. By some scholars he is held to have abandoned play-writing in 1611; but there is reason to believe that he continued active till 1613; nor can it be definitely said that he did not continue creative work till his death in 1616.

Nathan Field was born in October, 1587, and began his theatrical career in 1600 as one of the Chapel Children. He was writing plays as early as 1609-10, and, as Chapman says, in 1612, in verses addressed to him,

> "To many forms, as well as many ways,
> Thy active muse turns, like thy acted woman,"

he would seem to have written tragedy, as well as comedy, by that date. He was still writing in 1619, but seems to have abandoned the stage in that year. He was alive in 1625, but the date of his death is unknown.[1]

Benjamin Jonson (his own spelling of the name "Johnson") was born in 1572. As he appears in Meres' list of the best writers of tragedy, in 1598, his advent as a dramatist can scarcely be placed later than 1596. Between 1616 and 1625-6 he gave no play to the stage; but then he began again, and continued certainly till 1633, and perhaps till his death in 1637.

Thomas Middleton, the date of whose birth is unknown, issued a poem in 1597. His theatrical career had probably already begun, since his *Mayor of Quinborough*, which is called alternatively "Hengist, King of Kent," in an extant MS. and is vouched for as the "first flight" of the author, is in all likelihood identical (in a revised form) with the "Henges" revived as an old play in June, 1597, and perhaps, as Fleay suggested, with the *Valtiger* produced as a new play the preceding December. He was certainly a busy dramatist by 1602, and the unreadiness to believe that he can date earlier than that is hard to understand. If the date of *c.* 1570 given for his birth by Chambers and others be approximately cor-

[1] In "Modern Language Notes," January, 1927, Miss Florence Brinkley shows conclusively that Field (whose birthmonth she gives, perhaps correctly, as March) died between May 19, 1619, and August 2, 1620, when letters of administration were granted for his estate. Miss Brinkley is, however, mistaken in thinking that any significance is to be attached to the absence of his name from among those of the actors mentioned in the stage directions to *Barnavelt*, since these were all, with a single exception, but players of minor parts. She finally disposes of the confusion between Nathan and his brother Nathanael, the publisher.

rect (as a matter of fact, it is only guesswork), it is not reasonable, in view of what we know of other dramatists of the time, to suppose that his career began any later than 1596. He was still writing in 1624, and died (probably still in harness) about the middle of 1627.

John Webster may, as Chambers points out, be the John Webster who was one of Browne's company of English actors in Germany in 1596. He was engaged in dramatic work in 1602, and was still working in 1624, and probably somewhat later. He was dead before Heywood published his "Hierarchie of the Angels" in 1635.[2]

Cyril Tourneur issued a poetical satire in 1600, when he may have been about twenty-five. His *Atheist's Tragedy* may date perhaps 1604 or perhaps (but less probably) 1607; but, as it hardly reads like a first effort, he may have commenced his career at the beginning of the century. He was still writing in 1613, but in December of that year he went abroad. He apparently had no further connection with the stage, and died in February, 1625-6.

John Ford is usually regarded as having begun his dramatic career in 1621, it being assumed that the *Bad Beginning makes a Good Ending* acted at Court by the King's men during 1612-3 was too early for him,

[2] F. L. Lucas ("Times Literary Supplement," October 28, 1926) suggests that the dramatist was the "Mr John Webster, late of New Inn, gent., son and heir-apparent of John Webster of London, gent." admitted to Middle Temple June 30, 1598, and that he was therefore probably born about 1580-1. This would certainly fit in with the knowledge of the law and the fondness for trial scenes displayed in Webster's work.

and that at best the "Ill Beginning has a Good End" entered in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as Ford's can only be a later rewriting of that play. But, because we know nothing of Ford's activities between 1613 and 1621, we do not need to assume that he was not playwriting. He is by no means the only dramatist of whose doings during that period we are ignorant. Moreover, we have to consider that in the earliest play of Ford's known to have come down to us his style is already formed. Had he not been well known by that time he would hardly have been working on equal terms with Dekker and William Rowley. He was born in 1585-6, and to assume that he delayed entering upon a dramatic career till he was in his thirty-sixth year is somewhat ridiculous. It may be further mentioned that he published a poem as early as 1606. So far as is known, his last play was licensed for the stage in May, 1638; but he may have continued writing till his death the following year.

Robert Daborne first appears on the scene as one of the patentees of a dramatic company in 1609-10. He was still connected with the theater early in 1616, but by 1618 he had taken orders, and he died in March, 1628.

William D'avenant was born early in 1606, and his stage career began in 1626-7. It continued till May, 1641 (with a break from 1630 to 1633), and was resumed after the Restoration.

Richard Brome is first heard of as a playwriter in 1623, and was still at work at the closing of the theaters.

Christopher Marlowe's career ended in 1593, when

Fletcher was fourteen years of age, and Beaumont eight or nine.

Lewis Theobald was not born till long after the close of the era. He was a notable scholar of the eighteenth century.

## *Companies and Dramatists.*

BESIDES knowing something of the dates within which these dramatists were engaged in writing plays, it is necessary to have some idea of the companies with which they and others were connected at particular stages of their career.

The companies for which Beaumont is known to have written are (1) Paul's boys (1605-6), (2) Queen's Revels Children (1607-11), (3) King's (1609-10 to 1612). Fletcher's list of companies varies only in taking the King's up to 1613 and from 1616 to 1624, and in adding Lady Elizabeth's (1613). Though we cannot say so for certain, his connection with the King's men was perhaps never broken from 1609 till his death. The theatrical connections of the two friends may therefore be set down as (1) Paul's boys till the disbandment of the company about 1606-7, (2) Queen's Revels Children thenceforward till 1611, (3) King's simultaneously from 1609-10 till 1612, Fletcher thenceforward being regularly with the King's men, save perhaps for a two- or three-years' break from 1613.

We need, then, first to consider what dramatists were connected with Paul's boys from 1602 till their disbandment in or about 1606-7; for, though only one Beaumont and Fletcher play is known to have been given by this company, others may in their first form have

dated back to this period. Possible collaborators, revisers, or masters may be Dekker and Webster (from the latter part of 1604 to 1605-6), Middleton (1603 to 1606), and Chapman (1604).[1]

It is also necessary to consider what writers were connected with the Queen's Revels Children from 1606-7 to 1611. These were Chapman (perhaps for the entire period), Marston (till 1608), Barksted (1609-1610), Jonson (1609), and Field (throughout).[2] Daborne too, as a patentee for the company in 1609-10, probably wrote for it.

The Queen's Revels Children seem to have formed a very close connection with the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1613, and from 1616 London knew the company no more. The Elizabeth's men, however, carried on for some years longer, and probably took over some of the Queen's Revels Children's Beaumont and Fletcher plays. Chambers surmises (it is only a surmise, though a very reasonable one, even if it has no sounder foundation than some of the surmises he is constantly deprecating) that on the reorganization of the company which took place on Henslowe's death in 1615-6, some of these plays passed to the King's, while others remained

[1] I wish here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Chambers' "Elizabethan Stage." Without his work to refer to, my task would have been much more arduous than it has been. Though there are annoying lacunæ, owing to his erratic interpretation of what plays should be regarded as coming within the period to which he has most regrettably restricted his survey, his work is absolutely indispensable to the scholar.

[2] Chambers ("Elizabethan Stage," volume 3, page 145) omits mention of this writer's *Woman is a Weathercock* as a Queen's Revels Children's play. Mr. H. N. Hillebrand, in "Modern Language Notes" for January, 1927, shows that Middleton also provided a play for this company in May, 1606.

with the company and were ultimately left with Beeston when the company's occupation of the Cockpit ended in 1625. Beeston at his theater housed the Queen Henrietta's men from 1625 to 1637, and these were succeeded by the King's and Queen's young company ("Beeston's boys"). Such of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays as did not pass to King's may then have been liable to alteration by dramatists connected with the Lady Elizabeth's men up to 1625, with the Queen's men from 1625 to 1637, or with Beeston's boys from 1637 on. It is necessary then to consider what professional dramatists were connected with those companies at these periods.

Richard Brome was writing for Queen's in 1636; Daborne was with the Lady Elizabeth's from 1613 to 1615-6; D'avenant had control of Beeston's boys from 1639 to 1641; Davenport was with the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1624, and later (before 1629) with the Queen's; Field was with Elizabeth's up to 1615-6 or thereabouts; Ford was writing for them from 1621 to 1624, perhaps earlier, and probably up till 1625, was subsequently with the Queen's, and in 1638 was with Beeston's boys; but his service with them was not continuous, for he also wrote for the King's men in and about 1628; Glapthorne wrote for Beeston's boys; Heywood was writing for Elizabeth's in 1624, and later did some work for Queen's; Jonson was with Elizabeth's in 1614; Marmion wrote one play for the Queen's men; Massinger was with Elizabeth's from 1613 to 1615, and again from 1622 (or 1623) to 1624, and with Queen's in 1627 and 1628; Middleton wrote for Elizabeth's in 1611 and in 1622; Nabbes was with

the Queen's men from 1632 to 1635, and with Beeston's boys in 1638 and 1639; William Rowley was with Elizabeth's in 1616 and was also writing for them in 1621 and 1622; Shirley began with Elizabeth's in 1624, and was with Queen's from 1629 or earlier till 1636, then going to Ireland, where he remained four years; and Webster wrote for the Cockpit at some indeterminate date.

In the case of the King's company, it is necessary to consider not only those poets who worked for the company between the end of 1609 and the middle of 1613, but all who wrote for it professionally up to the closing of the theaters. These were: Field, whose connection with them began probably in 1616 and ended in 1619; Jonson, who was with them in 1610, and also from 1625 to 1633; Tourneur, who was active from 1611 to 1613; Webster, who was one of the poets of the company in 1612; Massinger, who was writing for the company in 1619, and again in 1626, and continuously from 1629 till his death; Ford, whose dates are none too certain, but who was certainly connected with the company in 1628 and probably had a play produced by it in 1612-3; William Rowley, whose relations to it seem to have been intermittent, but who was writing for it in 1623 and 1625; Middleton, 1624; Arthur Wilson, who did some dramatic work in 1631 and 1633; Glapthorne, at some indefinite date; Heywood, who had a brief turn with the company in 1634; Shirley, from 1640 to the closing of the theaters; D'avenant, from 1626-7 till about the end of 1638; Brome, from February, 1628-9, or perhaps earlier, till 1634; and Shakespeare.

The dates I give are in every case known ones. The possibility is not precluded of work being done outside those dates. For instance, internal evidence shows us that Massinger was with King's in 1622.

There is also the possibility of a drama's having been founded on the work of an older writer or altered after the closing of the theaters; but of the older writers Marlowe is the only one seeming to call for consideration; while there are only two or three plays (outside those of the folios) that, in their first form, as we have it, may possibly have been touched up in Commonwealth days or later, and Theobald is the only writer of those later days who need concern us.

This closes our list of candidates for consideration, but there are two other writers who must be mentioned. One is Robert Armin, who was connected with the King's men during the Beaumont and Fletcher period, but who, though a playwright of sorts, does not seem to have written for the company. The other was Alexander Brome, who appears to have written for the Queen's men during Beeston's régime, and who, though not a professional dramatist, had a taste for editing. Still less need we be concerned with Michael Drayton, since his company connections do not fit the requirements. He must yet be named as a bare possibility, by reason of his known friendship for Beaumont.

It will be noted that not all the men named are probable collaborators, many of them having their places merely as possible revisers. Of those who really matter, Richard Brome, D'avenant, and Shirley, and of course Marlowe and Theobald, need not be thought of as collaborators of either Beaumont or Fletcher, while on

the contrary Shakespeare, Tourneur, Daborne, Field, Chapman, and Beaumont himself, are not open to consideration as late revisers—that is to say, rewriters on a play's revival—save in so far as Beaumont may have revised his own early work. Jonson, Webster, and Middleton may not only have collaborated with Beaumont and Fletcher, but may also have been late rewriters, as may Fletcher himself, both of his own work and of Beaumont's; and, finally, Rowley, Massinger, and Ford may be considered both as late revisers and as possible collaborators with Fletcher after the retirement of Beaumont.

## *Companies and Theaters.*

THE connection of the companies concerned with the various theaters during the period must also be known, because cases occur in which the title-pages of plays state the theaters at which they were performed, but not the company by which they were staged.

Paul's boys had their own house. The Queen's Revels Children were at the Blackfriars till, apparently, August, 1609, though their lease terminated a year earlier. They then went to Whitefriars, which housed them till 1615 or 1616. In 1616 they acted in Porter's Hall; but it was demolished in 1616-7, though it had not been opened till the close of 1615. The company was variously known as Chapel Children, Children of the Revels, Children of Blackfriars, and Children of Whitefriars.

The home of the Lady Elizabeth's company (afterwards known as the Queen of Bohemia's) from its establishment in 1611 till 1613 is doubtful. It was prob-

ably the Rose, though it certainly performed at least once at the Swan (the date, however, of this performance being doubtful). From 1613 it was at Whitefriars, and by the end of 1614 the company was established in the newly built Hope. It was at Porter's Hall in 1616, and then, after apparently a six-years' absence from London, appeared at the Cockpit (known also as the Phœnix, or "the Theatre in Drury Lane") till the theaters closed down in May, 1625, on account of the plague. When the Cockpit reopened in December the newly formed Queen's took the place of the Queen of Bohemia's men, who are not to be traced in London later. The Queen's company remained at the Cockpit till that theater was again closed on account of the plague in May, 1636. When it reopened in February, 1636-7, it had passed to a new organization, Beeston's boys, which company remained there till the final closing of the theaters. The Queen's men amalgamated with the Revels company and played under their old name at Salisbury Court. Their repertory of plays seems, however, to have remained at the Cockpit.

During the whole period from 1609 to the end of things in 1642 the King's men produced at the two theaters, the Globe and the Blackfriars, save for the few months after the burning of the Globe in 1613, while the new Globe was being built. Prior to August, 1609, they acted at the Globe alone.

Those who want more detailed particulars of the history of the theaters may be referred to J. T. Murray's "English Dramatic Companies" and Chambers' "Elizabethan Stage."

*London in the second decade of the 17th century.*
*(Merian's "View")*

*From Ludvig Gottfried's "Neuwe Archontologia Cosmica," Frankfurt am Mayn, 1638. (Photograph from Congressional Library.)*

## *Actors' Lists.*

A FACT that is very helpful in the dating of many of the plays and in determining the companies by which they were performed is the provision of actors' lists in the second folio. The benefit applies not merely to those provided with such lists, but also to others. The absence of such a list means much. Of the fifty-two plays in the folio, eleven are known definitely to have been produced by companies other than King's. Only two of these have lists. Three others were written for unknown companies. These also have no lists. The remaining thirty-eight plays all belonged to King's at one time or other; of these, twenty-three have lists; but in the case of *Women Pleased* the names are not those of the original performers (though the company was the same), and in the case of *The Lover's Progress*, though the list is that of the original performers, the text of the play is a revision made at a much later period. Assuming that the three plays whose producing companies are unknown were not King's company's plays (as we may reasonably do), we have fifteen out of thirty-eight King's plays and twelve out of fourteen non-King's plays without lists. We find also that, of the twelve, nine (the three exceptions being the three plays of companies unknown) were excluded from the first folio as existing already in quarto, and that, of the fifteen, eight were omitted from the first folio for the same reason. It is evident, then, that for the whole of the twenty-five plays with lists playhouse copies were used, and that in the other cases the quartos (not one of which had an actors' list attached) were employed. That accounts for forty-two

out of the fifty-two plays—one of these fifty-two (*The Coronation*), let it be noted, having no right to be included in the collection. Seven of the remaining ten (the exceptions being the three plays of unknown company) were in the repertory of the King's men, and all of them appeared for the first time in the folio of 1679. They were almost certainly printed from playhouse copies; why then have they no lists of players attached? The most reasonable assumption is that, though they were in the possession of the King's company, they were not originally written for it. There is nothing extravagant in supposing this, for it is known that several plays originally written for other companies subsequently found their way into the hands of the King's men. As this was the case with *The Woman-hater*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, and *The Coxcomb*, why should it not also have been the case with *Beggars' Bush*, *The Woman's Prize*, *Love's Cure*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *The Chances*, *The Noble Gentleman*, and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*? As every play definitely known to have been first performed by King's and not published in quarto prior to 1647 had a list of actors attached in the second folio, one is justified in assuming that, if these seven plays, previously unpublished, had also been originally King's plays, they too would have had lists attached. This question of the presence or absence of actor's lists is, like that of presence in or absence from Herbert's Office-book, of the greatest importance in the dating of many of the plays.

With the track cleared, it is now possible to proceed to an examination of the individual plays, beginning with those which I attribute to Fletcher alone.

## *Plays by Fletcher Alone.*

LIKE the majority of investigators, I take these to number sixteen.

### 1. *Bonduca.*

In "E. S." I assumed that this play, first published in the folio of 1647, was in its first form of very early date, though all the critics dated it 1616; and, as one of the actors taking part in a production which may or may not have been the original one was found out subsequently to have died in 1614, it became evident that, whether my dating was right or wrong, theirs could not possibly be correct. The actors were Burbage, Condell, Egglestone, Tooley, Ostler, Lowin, Underwood, and Robinson. It was therefore a King's men's play. It is possible to date it with a fair amount of certainty. Hemings did not drop out of the King's men's casts till 1611, therefore this play is not to be dated earlier. Egglestone, who had played with Hemings in *Catiline* in that year, was by the twenty-ninth of August a member of the Lady Elizabeth's company; therefore the play was certainly not later than that date, though Lawrence places it early in 1614. Chambers, when dealing with the play, says it must date either 1609 to 1611 or 1613 to 1614, because then alone were Ostler and Egglestone together with the King's; but, when dealing with Egglestone, he dates it definitely 1613-1614, without giving any reason. His assumption that Egglestone rejoined King's in 1613 is entirely gratuitous. There is no record of his being with them again till 1616.

I formerly regarded *Bonduca* as an alteration by

Fletcher of an old drama by Beaumont, who, according to Moseley, dealt with British history in another play, *Madoc*, now lost. Two scenes (II. 1 and IV. 4) in which the verse is crude and there is much rhyme I held to contain about twenty speeches due to Beaumont, whose "Drusius" Fletcher had changed into "Drusus." So much for my earlier view: now for my later one.

This play raises a very interesting question. The bulk of it is unquestionable Fletcher, and Fletcher in his maturity;[1] but there is also a fair sprinkling of rhyme, which cannot well belong to any but Fletcher's very earliest period, and there are one or two passages the authorship of which may be described as doubtful. One is the sixth speech after Curius' entry in II. 1; the other is Bonduca's twelve-line speech after Decius' first exit in IV. 4. These may be variously regarded as the work of Fletcher while he was but a youth, the work of Beaumont, or remnants of an old play on which this was founded. The second bears no resemblance to Fletcher, but neither is it markedly early in style, nor yet is it definitely Beaumontesque. It contains much rhyme; but so does the remainder of the scene, and it

[1] There is some very heavy alliteration in V. 2. Even Fletcher does not usually indulge in it to quite this extent:

> "O, penny pipers, and most painful penners
> Of bountiful new ballads, what a subject,
> What a sweet subject for your silver sounds
> Is crept upon ye!"

> "And seen him kiss his sword since, court his scabbard,
> Call dying dainty dear, her brave mind mistress."

> "More than they make themselves: they lie,
> Just like a brace of bear-whelps, close and crafty,
> Sucking their fingers for their food."

is immediately preceded by a couple of lines that are Fletcher's, which are in turn preceded by a couplet presumably his. The other passage is distinctly in an old style that had been abandoned before Fletcher began writing. It talks of

> "A troop of bloody vultures hovering
> About a few corrupted carcasses"

and of

> "The silly Roman host
> Girded with millions of fierce Britain swains,"

lines which would be perfectly in place in a play of the eighties or early nineties of the sixteenth century. It has much rhyme; but let it be noted that Penius' following speech, which is characteristically Fletcher's, ends with a rhyme; and, though the two couplets which follow are somewhat early in style, they are not necessarily of early date. The scene ends with a brace of couplets, of which the first seems to be Fletcherian; so the other also may be credited to him, as there is nothing in the manner of it to render the attribution unlikely. It is also apparently Fletcher who ends III. 2 with a rhyme, and in III. 3 he uses a double-ending rhyme, while in IV. 3 there is a similar rhyme, though the two lines are separated. On the whole, I am inclined to think that Fletcher, about 1611, worked over an old play of his own; and the only question remaining is, Was any one else concerned in it? It is possible that he may, while quite young, have patched a play by one of the older generation of dramatists, but I regard it as more likely that when he commenced author it was under the influence of the old slaughter-house drama. There is in *Bonduca*

nothing particularly characteristic of Beaumont, and so I drop my idea of that dramatist's coöperation. If my present view be correct, the play is of the greatest interest as showing traces of Fletcher in his very earliest manner, before he had adopted any of his marked characteristics. The childishness of the management of the story points in the same direction, though we are faced with the extraordinary fact that Fletcher should have left it in its present form when he rewrote it. The fact that Macer, though frequently introduced, is generally mute may indicate that a much more important part was played by that character in the first version of the tragedy.

There need be no doubt about the approximate date of the King's men's production of this play, especially as the evidence of the actors' list is fortified by resemblances between it and other plays of from 1609 to 1614, nor can there be any question of Fletcher's responsibility for almost the entire play, though whether the original work on which I assume this to have been founded was Fletcher's own or an older writer's is a point on which a difference of views is comprehensible. What is difficult to understand is how any one can suppose the whole of the drama to be of the one period, or, if of the one period, by the one man.

Two old catalogues—that of Rogers and Ley and that of Archer—credit it to Fletcher; and scholars generally are agreed in regarding it as by Fletcher alone, the exceptions being Fleay, who votes for Fletcher and Field; Macaulay, who, after declaring for Fletcher's authorship, later attributed the play to "Fletcher and perhaps Field (*e.g.*, II. 1, IV. 4)"; and, doubtfully,

Sykes, who considers the rhymed couplets in these two scenes "suggestive of another than Fletcher," but, "apart from these, sees no reason to suspect" Field. Had Field been concerned, he would almost certainly have acted in the play, as he did in others; and, besides, the earliest possible date for his connection with the King's is 1616. If my assumption of there having been an earlier version of the play be correct, it may have been produced by another company than King's, though, when I come to deal with *Women Pleased*, I shall show that there is reason to think Fletcher may have written for his Majesty's men at an early date. I therefore accept it as entirely a King's play.

### 2. *The Chances.*

This play was first printed in the 1647 folio, with a prologue declaring it to be Fletcher's, and speaking of the author as dead. Fleay thought this the prologue at the original production;[1] but the play was not new then, or it would have been entered in Herbert's Office-book; nor was it acted originally by the King's men, for it has no list of actors attached in the second folio. It is, however, in the King's company's list of 1641. Macaulay argued that the original production was posthumous; but Chambers rightly refrained from endorsing that view. All Macaulay had to base his opinion on was an apparent reference to occurrences in 1627, two years after Fletcher's death; but such a reference, even if undoubted, does not imply any more than insertion by some later writer. The scene that contains the allusion

[1] He subsequently changed his view, dating the play about 1615. The epilogue, like the prologue, was written for a late revival.

in question is, however, so very much in Fletcher's style that I think it must have been effected by the alteration of only a word or two. I prefer to regard the play as entirely Fletcher's, since the reference to the baiting of the Pope's bulls may well have been penned in 1625, and the mention of the Duke of Lorraine may be nothing more than coincidence.

"La Señora Cornelia" (one of Cervantes' "Novelas Exemplares") on which the play was based, was published in 1613, and a French translation was issued in 1615. The play therefore cannot possibly date from before 1613, and is unlikely to date before 1615. The latter is a date that would suit well for part of it (*e.g.*, V. 1 and V. 3); but I regard it as having been revised by Fletcher just before his death, the bulk of it being in his later manner. It was probably handed over to him for rewriting when it came into the King's men's hands, which would account for its not being licensed by Herbert, since it was always open to a dramatist to revise any of his plays without an extra fee being paid.

There are no obvious signs of revision. Gillian is known only as "Landlady," and is not named till the final scene. In III. 2 Rowland is named, but mute; in IV. 2 he is unnamed. The ending is very abrupt, and has probably been curtailed. Attention may be directed to the number of very short speeches in V. 3 (three or four to the line in places). This is characteristic of Fletcher; but otherwise the scene is not like him. The song of John Dory, sung in III. 2, is mentioned in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and is of earlier date than 1602. It is to be found in "Deuteromelia" (1609).

All the critics give the play wholly to Fletcher, with

the exception of Macaulay, who thinks that the hand of another, a reviser, is to be seen here and there, *e.g.*, in I. 1, I. 9, and II. 4. Wells believed that Ford shortened the play and wrote the prologue; but his latest view is that it is wholly Fletcher's.

Archer, in his catalogue, gave the play, absurdly enough, to Shakespeare. Rogers and Ley awarded it to Beaumont.

### 3. *The Faithful Shepherdess.*

Fletcher's famous pastoral was attributed to him in the first quarto (n.d.) and carried an epistle to the reader signed by him, and three dedicatory verses all signed. Later editions appeared in 1629, 1633, 1656, and 1665. As one of the dedicatees, Sir William Skipwith, died in May, 1610, we have a good line even as to the date of the undated quarto, especially as the partnership of the publishers, Bonian and Walley, can be traced only from December, 1608, to January, 1609-10. Its date of production must have been about 1609, though Lawrence gives it to 1610. Jonson told Drummond of Hawthornden in 1618-9 that it had been written ten years earlier, and it appears in Harrington's catalogue of plays produced in 1609 or 1610. It was in the possession of the King's men before 1634; but they were certainly not the original producers. As Chambers says, "The presence of Field, Chapman, and Jonson amongst the verse-writers [that is to say, the writers of commendatory verses on the occasion of the issue of the first quarto] and the mentions in Beaumont's verses of 'the waxlights' and of a boy dancing between the acts point to the Queen's Revels as the producers." D'avenant

wrote a prologue for a production at Court in 1633-4.

The authorship of this fine, though often greatly overrated, work has been questioned by no one but Wells (in his "Authorship of Julius Cæsar"). He argues the presence of Beaumont as well as Fletcher.[1] I have studied the play carefully in the light of his contribution to the subject, but cannot agree with him; nor do I consider the external evidence for Fletcher's sole authorship so doubtful as he does. Jonson's statement to Drummond, some ten years later, that the play was by "Flesher" and Beaumont can hardly stand against the earlier testimony of himself, and of Beaumont, Chapman, and Field. Beaumont may have had the retiring spirit of the true amateur, but I greatly doubt if it would go so far as to cause him to write verses crediting his friend with the entire composition of a work which was partly his own, nor do I imagine that he would speak of it quite in the terms he employs were he himself partly responsible for it. Fleay at first thought he could see the hand of Beaumont as well as that of Fletcher, but afterwards recanted. There are, indeed, passages recalling Beaumont, but nothing that Fletcher may not have written; and I see no reason to drag the former in.[2] At the same time, it has to be admitted that, if the authorship of the play were unknown, Fletcher's presence would never be suspected. There can be no doubt that the difference between the style of this play and that displayed in his other dramas is deliberate; it

[1] He awards the first two acts mainly, and the third wholly, to Beaumont, and the remaining two mainly to Fletcher.

[2] It may be noted, by the way, that Archer's catalogue amusingly credits the play to John Dymocke, by confusion, no doubt, with that writer's "Faithful Shepherd."

extends not merely to the rhymed lines in short meters, but also to the unrhyming pentameters. Knowing the play to be Fletcher's, one may certainly see him in the beginning of the opening speech, and may also perceive some of his characteristics in the last speech of the same scene, and in II. 4, IV. 3, and IV. 4. Elsewhere his touch is not perceptible; but there is no reason to consider that there is more than a single hand present.

### 4. *The Humorous Lieutenant.*

This play, one of Fletcher's two comic masterpieces (the other being *Rule a Wife*), was entered in the Stationers' Register, September 4, 1646, as "The Noble Enemies, or the Humorous Lieutenant." It was acted by Condell, Lowin, Sharpe, Benfield, Taylor, Egglestone, Underwood, and Pollard. It was, therefore, a King's men's play. The presence of Taylor, Benfield, and Condell together fixes the date at 1619, though Lawrence marks it as belonging to 1621. It was first printed in the first folio, but also exists in MS. (made by Ralph Crane for Sir Kenelm Digby) dated 1625, under the title of "Demetrius and Enanthe." This MS., which supplies a much fuller text (all of it manifestly Fletcher's, the folio version being obviously abridged for acting), attributes the play to Fletcher, an attribution which is universally accepted.

### 5. *The Island Princess.*

The merits of this notable play have been surprisingly little recognized. First printed in the 1647 folio, it was clearly a King's play, since it was acted by Lowin,

Underwood, Egglestone, Sharpe, Taylor, Benfield, Birch, and Pollard. Based on a Spanish work printed in 1609, its date may be set down at 1621, in which year it was acted at Court. The absence of Condell's name as an actor dates it later than 1619. Lawrence allots it to 1620. The only critics who vary from the general attribution to Fletcher alone are Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, who gives it partly to Massinger, on the ground that Massinger was certainly acquainted with Spanish, and that there is not known to have been any translation of the work, "Conquista de las Islas Malucas," which was its source; and Dr. Cruickshank, who commits himself to the remarkable opinion that "perhaps Fletcher was helped by some young man, such as Brome, who was acquainted with Massinger's style"! One would have supposed that the day for such unhelpful suggestions of deliberate imitation had passed. In any case, why Brome should have been suggested as this hypothetical imitator of a man whose work is quite unlike his own is hard to comprehend. In point of fact, there is not a trace of the style of Massinger, and it is perhaps not possible to find a play that is more characteristically Fletcher's from start to finish. Chambers points out that Fletcher deviates from his source in the fourth and fifth acts. The play was in the King's men's repertory in 1641. Rogers and Ley's catalogue credits it to Beaumont and Fletcher.

Though the play is above the average length, there are some signs of abbreviation. Panura is mute in four scenes, and Quisana, Emanuel, and Pedro in one each. It may be noted too that there are two chorus speeches (credited to "Omnes") in I. 3, and one in V. 1, besides

a speech in II. 2 so credited that should be allotted to "Ambo."

### 6. *The Loyal Subject.*

This play was beyond all question a King's men's production, as is shown not only by the list of actors (Burbage, Condell, Lowin, Sharpe, Field, Underwood, Tooley, and Egglestone), but also by the entry in Herbert's Office-book under date November 23, 1633: "The Kings players sent me an old booke of Fletchers called *The Loyal Subject*, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Nov. 1618, which according to their desire and agreement I did peruse and with some reformations allowed of." This settles the question of the date of the original production, which is, in any case, sufficiently closely indicated by the names in the list of performers. That the play is entirely Fletcher's is to be seen not only from the internal evidence, but also from Herbert's entry, its ascription to Fletcher in a Stationers' Register entry of 1632-3 (it did not, however, find its way into print till the issue of the first folio), and its attribution to the same poet in a prologue written for a revival, probably on the occasion of its production in 1633. This prologue was, to judge by the internal evidence, written by Massinger, who probably wrote the epilogue also. Despite Herbert's reference to "reformations" and Archer's attribution to Beaumont and Fletcher, no scholar has doubted Fletcher's sole authorship, save that Mr. William Wells has gone so far as to say that Massinger has "possibly" revised the play. His present view is, however, in accordance with that of other scholars.

### 7. *The Mad Lover.*

As it is in the King's list of 1641, and was acted by Burbage, Benfield, Field, Condell, Lowin, Egglestone, and Sharpe, there can be no doubt of the company that performed this play. The date is certainly prior to March, 1618-9, when Burbage died; while the presence of Field gives a date subsequent to 1615-6. I could have got no nearer than that had not Mr. W. J. Lawrence kindly informed me of some new evidence that has been discovered of the play's performance at Court on January 5, 1616-7, showing that it must have been acted publicly for the first time not later than 1616. I know nothing of the nature of the evidence, and have to accept the date on the authority of Mr. Lawrence, who was unfortunately not in a position at the time to give me any details. *The Mad Lover* was first published in the folio of 1647, and no one questions Fletcher's sole responsibility for it. The prologue declares it to be the work of a single author, and Sir Aston Cokaine credits it to Fletcher.

### 8. *Monsieur Thomas.*

This sparkling, bustling comedy was printed in 1639 by Waterson, with an ascription to Fletcher with which all the critics agree, and with verses in praise of the author and his work by Richard Brome, who also signed the epistle to Charles Cotton. It is described on the title-page as "acted in the private house in Blackfriars." A second quarto was issued about 1661 (it has no date), under the title of "Father's own Son," which, as Chambers says, "enables us to identify *Monsieur Thomas* with

the *Father's own Son* of the Cockpit repertory in 1639"; but he might have added that the droll in Kirkman's "Wits" affords confirmation much more indubitable. As it was a Cockpit play in 1639, it must have been produced originally by some other company than King's; but the regular Blackfriars theater had passed to the King's men by 1610, and the play cannot easily be dated earlier than that, since its source (Part II of D'Urfé's "Astrée") appeared only in February of that year. Chambers suggests that there may have been some misunderstanding between the King's and the Cockpit companies regarding the distribution of the Lady Elizabeth's men's plays, and that it was a revival of this play in 1639 that led the Cockpit managers to get the Lord Chamberlain's order of August 10, 1639, appropriating their repertory to them; but this is mere guesswork. One does not expect baseless conjectures from so serious an historian as Sir Edmund Chambers. He is on a sounder footing when he suggests that the theater may have been Porter's Hall in the Blackfriars, where the Queen's Revels Children played in 1615-6, and where they seem to have produced *The Scornful Lady*. This raises the question of the date of the play.

Gayley, who believes in an early date for it, points out that in February, 1607, Part I of the "Astrée" was read in MS. by Drummond, and that it is possible that the second part may also have circulated in MS. prior to publication and been seen by Fletcher, and adds, "The fact that he alters some of the names, follows the plot but loosely, characterizes the persons not at all as if he had the original before him, and uses none of their diction, would favor the supposition that he is

writing from hearsay or from some second-hand or condensed version of the story." There is something to be said for that view, though it has to be borne in mind that Fletcher is always ready to take liberties with his sources. It is a view that would solve the difficulty as to the theater by supposing that the Queen's Revels Children acted it at the Blackfriars in 1609, and it would help to account for the fact that it contains many points of contact with *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and also for the occurrence in IV. 2 of the expression "come from Tripoli," which is found again in Jonson's *Silent Woman*, acted 1609. This evidently refers to some one notorious at the time, and may serve to fix the date. This play may, in fact, be one of those early failures to which Dryden refers.

Assuming that it was first acted by the Queen's Revels Children at Blackfriars in 1609 or at Whitefriars in 1610 (and the facts mentioned suit the two dates equally well), there has almost certainly been revision, and, if we take the later of these two dates, we must then assume a Porter's Hall performance in or about 1616, to account for the "Blackfriars" of the title-page of the quarto. (Lawrence favors such a production and a date of 1615.) There are several indications of alteration. The name or nickname of Wild-oats is bestowed on two different characters (I. 1, II. 3). In the original version Francisco was apparently called Callidon, as in "Astrée," until he was revealed in the final scene to be Francisco ("Take her, Francisco, now no more young Callidon"), a line which without knowledge of the source would be inexplicable. As the play stands, he is called Frank throughout. The Dorothea of the

stage directions of the first three acts becomes Dorothy in those of the last two. The pretended saintliness of Thomas in II. 3 and IV. 2 in face of his sister's warnings in two preceding scenes may point in the same direction, especially as in II. 2 Thomas has expressed his intention of pleasing his father by being "stark mad." The verse also seems to me obviously of two periods. Much of the play affords a good example of Fletcher's early style; much of it is quite late. The early scenes show his mannerisms very mildly; while II. 2 and III. 2 illustrate the manner of the more mature Fletcher. The Fletcher of II. 5 cannot be very far in time from the Fletcher of *Henry VIII* (1613). *Valentinian,* probably of 1612, is taken from the same source, and *Wit without Money,* probably of 1614-5, has a plot greatly resembling this, and some of the same character-names (Valentine, Francisco, and Lance), including one not English, though the scene of the story of each is apparently England. Other characters in *Monsieur Thomas* have foreign names, and those of Cellide and Hylas come from the source. On the whole, I favor a date of 1609, with revision in 1615, since I believe that by 1616 Fletcher was back with King's.

### 9. *The Pilgrim.*

*The Pilgrim* was a King's play, acted at Court in 1621. As it was based on Lope de Vega's "El Peregrino," translated from the French version into English in that year, there cannot be much doubt about its date; and the list of actors' names—Taylor, Tooley, Benfield, Thomson, Lowin, Underwood, Birch, and Horn—fits it.

No one has questioned Fletcher's sole authorship,[1] but the play has evidently undergone alteration or abridgment. In IV. 3 there is apparently something omitted between "*Welsh.* Whaw, Master Keeper," and "*Alph.* Pox o' thy whaws, and thy whims! Pox o' thy 'urship!" The Welshman had presumably addressed him as "'Urship." This "Welsh Madman" is not named in the stage directions, but is styled Jenkin in the list of *dramatis personæ*. In the text, however, he names himself Owen. Again, we have the third Gentleman enter (in III. 7) before the first and second have put in an appearance. It is not uncommon in Elizabethan dramas to have a character labeled "second" speaking before one labeled "first"—the outcome usually of curtailment; but I cannot recall any other instance of the first not at least appearing as soon as any. Perhaps a scene has dropped out in which the first and second Gentlemen referred to the detention in the madhouse of a sane man in the person of Stephano, the scholar.

[1] Though Rogers and Ley's catalogue gives both it and *Monsieur Thomas* to Beaumont and Fletcher jointly.

### 10. *Rule a Wife.*

This excellent comedy was licensed (as by Fletcher) October 19, 1624, acted at Court twice the same year by the King's men, and published by Lichfield, at Oxford, in 1640, as Fletcher's, with a prologue declaring it to be the work of a single author. Fletcher's sole responsibility for it has never been questioned.

### 11. *Valentinian.*

*Valentinian* may fall far behind the great tragedies

of Shakespeare and Webster and Middleton; but it is a noteworthy thing for all that. That it was a King's play is shown not only by its presence in the company's repertory in 1641 (there is probably no significance in the fact that it stands by itself in that list), but also by the names of the actors—Burbage, Condell, Lowin, Ostler, and Underwood. As Ostler died in December, 1614, and one of the sources of the play, D'Urfé's "Astrée," Part II, was published in 1610, the limits of date would seem to be fairly narrow, though there is a possibility, as in the case of *Monsieur Thomas*, that the "Astrée" may have been seen by the author in MS. We can, however, make the limits of date still narrower, the absence of the names of Hemings and Cooke from the list of actors indicating that the play was not produced before 1611. The absence of Egglestone's name may, in contrast to the case of *Bonduca*, be held to give a date subsequent to August 29 of that year; but we cannot be sure that, had the usual number of actors been mentioned, his name would not have been amongst them (an argument which does not apply in the case of Cooke and Hemings). Similarly we must not regard as significant the absence of Egglestone's name from the actors' list of *The Captain*. We have then to give the limits of *Valentinian* as 1611 and 1614. Lawrence favored the latter, but in a later note says his impression is that it was produced at the Blackfriars early in 1613. He thinks "it was probably the *Cæsar's Tragedy* given at Court by the King's men some time between Sept. 29 and May 1613." The play was first printed in the folio of 1647.

The only critic who has doubted Fletcher's sole au-

thorship is Gayley, who sees the hand of Massinger in it. Archer and Rogers and Ley both catalogue it as Fletcher's.

### 12. *A Wife for a Month*

This very interesting play was licensed as by Fletcher on May 27, 1624, and was first printed in the folio of 1647. It was produced by the King's men, the actors, according to the second folio, being Taylor, Robinson, Tooley, Benfield, Underwood, and Birch. There is a difficulty here, inasmuch as Tooley died in June, 1623. Fleay at first thought the presence of the actor's name in the list was proof of an earlier date for the first production of the play; but, when I put forward the idea that the name was a misreading of the name of Lowin, instancing the way Lowin's name was written in the MS. of *Barnavelt*, he informed me that he agreed with me. Later, however, he expressed the opinion that the inclusion of Tooley's name showed that the lists of actors were drawn up by Fletcher when working, and not, as in the case of Jonson's plays, after production. But for the fact that two earlier plays (*The Maid in the Mill* and *The Lover's Progress*) make no such provision for Tooley, I should incline to think that view sound, since it is quite likely that Fletcher fitted his parts to the actors of the company. The play was acted at Court in February, 1636-7 by the King's men. The prologue ascribes it to a single author, and no one has doubted that that one is Fletcher. There is, however, a sign of abridgment in II. 4, where the First Citizen does not speak, though both the Second and Third do. Archer's catalogue brackets Beaumont's name with Fletcher's.

### 13. *The Wild-goose Chase.*

No one has ever questioned Fletcher's sole authorship of this play, though it contains positive signs of alteration. One of the characters is "Lugier, alias Laverdure"; but in V. 2 another individual, who does not appear, is called by the latter name. In the 1652 quarto the stage direction of III. 1 has "Enter Laverduce, Lugier." This looks as if the play had been altered for its revival in 1631; but there is no sign of any one but Fletcher, and the alteration was not necessarily done then.

*The Wild-goose Chase* did not appear in the folio of 1647, the MS. having been lost; but in 1652 it was published by Moseley, the publisher of the folio, as "the noble, last, and onely remains of those incomparable dramatists," Beaumont and Fletcher (an ascription followed by the cataloguer, Archer); but Lowin and Taylor's dedication and all the accompanying verses ascribe it to Fletcher alone. It was a King's play, acted at Court in 1621, and perhaps first produced that year; but the list of actors given in the second folio—Benfield, Robinson, Taylor, Pollard, Lowin, Penn, Swanston, Hammerton, Trigg, "Sander" Gough, Shanck, and Honyman—is that of the revival in 1631, as is shown by the inclusion of the names of Swanston (who joined the King's company in 1624), Gough, Honyman, Trigg, and Penn, the names of none of whom appear in any list of the King's men before 1626. It is difficult to say when the work was revised. If the original production was in 1621, the revision must be attributed to the close of Fletcher's career; but it is quite likely to have been

effected in 1621, the first production dating back to very much earlier, probably prior to 1613. On the whole, I incline to the latter view.

### 14. *Wit without Money.*

First published by Crooke and Cooke in 1639 as presented "at the private house in Drurie Lane by her Majesties Servants," and by Crooke in 1661, as "corrected," this lively comedy is in the Cockpit list of 1639, and was acted at Court by Beeston's boys in 1636-7. Fleay's date of 1614 for its first production, because of its allusion to a serpent in Sussex (August, 1614), has been generally accepted. Dr. M'Kerrow has further pointed out that it cannot be very much later, by reason of the allusion to the New River, which was opened in 1613. It may, however, be urged that "Rumours of new rivers" may imply a date either before 1613 or some considerable time later. There is a line recalling *Monsieur Thomas*,

> "Ladies' honours
> Were ever in my thoughts unspotted ermines"

(Theobald's emendation)—which may suggest proximity in date to that play, the line in *Monsieur Thomas* being

> "That ermine honesty unspotted ever."

I think we shall not be far wrong if we ascribe it to the end of 1614 (Lawrence says 1615), and consider the Lady Elizabeth's players the first performers.

All investigators are agreed in giving the play to Fletcher, despite the first quarto's attribution to Beaumont as well, and despite its inclusion in a list at the

end of the quarto of 1661 of "plays written by Beaumont and Fletcher, printed in quarto"—a list which includes *The Opportunity* and *The Coronation* and does not include *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *Beggars' Bush*. None of these facts is of much significance; nor is the ascription of it to both writers in the catalogues of Archer and Rogers and Ley. More importance may be attached to the Stationers' Register entry of the play in March, 1636-7 as Fletcher's.

### 15. *The Woman's Prize.*

This very entertaining sequel to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* has the sub-title "The Tamer Tamed." It was first published in the folio of 1647. It belonged to the King's men in 1633, when it was revived by them, and it is in their list of 1641, where it stands apart from any other Fletcher play. Chambers suggests that it may be identical with *The Woman is too Hard for Him*, presented at Court by the King's men in November, 1621—a suggestion for which there does not seem a shadow of reason. He does, however, so far depart from his usual attitude as to admit that the original writing was "not necessarily for" the King's company. He remarks that "Fleay, Oliphant, and Thorndike accumulate inconclusive evidence bearing on the date," and then is forced to admit that an answer to *The Taming of the Shrew* "would have more point the nearer it came to the date of the original," and that references to Ostend would be topical during or not long after the siege, which ended on the eighth of September, 1604. By these admissions he cuts the ground from under his own feet, and confesses the reasonableness of the

arguments advanced in favor of an early date, for there are few things more certain in relation to Elizabethan drama than the determination to make allusions topical. We need have no hesitation in assuming that allusions to another play are made only while that play is a living thing and warm in the recollections of the public, and that events referred to are in nine cases out of ten those of the past few months. To Chambers' extraordinary objection to Gayley's view that the play was written in 1604 and revised in either 1610 or 1614 I have referred elsewhere in this work. It is one of the most remarkable ever put forward by any one with such a mastery of the minutiæ of the Elizabethan drama as Sir Edmund Chambers possesses. It may be mentioned here that Gayley's latest view (as expressed in volume 3 of his "English Representative Comedies," the introductions to which are amongst the best things written on the subject of Elizabethan drama) is that, because of contacts with Jonson's *Alchemist* and *Silent Woman*, the earliest date for the play is 1610, while the similarity of phrases to ones in *Wit without Money* and the reference to craccus, a favorite brand of tobacco, mentioned also in Middleton and Rowley's *Fair Quarrel*, give a lower limit of 1615; but presumably these limits have reference only to the version of the play which has come down to us, and do not cover the original.

The arguments for an early date are very strong, though opinions may vary as to whether it is 1604 or 1606-7 that is pointed to. (Lawrence ascribes the play to the year 1608.) The line in I. 3, "The chamber's nothing but a mere Ostend," gives evidence of a date not later than 1604, since it seems to imply that

the famous siege is still in progress. That is not really, as I have shown, too early a date for Fletcher, though those who are never ready to go past ascertained facts will so regard it. If I doubt the absolute contemporaneousness of this allusion, it is because I find it hard to believe that Fletcher's style matured so early, and that he had his wonderful gift of vituperation in full working order at almost the commencement of his career. The likeliest explanation is, I think, that Fletcher almost entirely rewrote the play some years later, but left in the reference to Ostend. In fact, there is some reason for preferring a date of 1603 to one of 1604, since it would apply equally well to the siege of Ostend, and would fit the play into a series of plays presented at different theaters on similar subjects, and apparently in rivalry of one another. Thus, in July, 1602, the Admiral's men acted Dekker's *Medicine for a Curst*[1] *Wife*, and, in 1602-3, Heywood's *Woman killed with Kindness* (which, despite Thorndike's opinion to the contrary, is glanced at in this play, as well as alluded to in *The Taming of the Shrew*); and about the same time the King's men seem to have acted (not for the first time) Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, which may perhaps be alluded to in another Admiral's play of the same family, Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton's *Patient Grissil*, which was given to the press in 1603, doubtless to take advantage of the interest created by this rivalry, and was apparently revised either for the purpose or for an immediately preceding production. If Fletcher's play belonged to this set in its first form, it was a reply to Shakespeare, and probably staged by Paul's boys.

[1] "Curst," it may be mentioned, has the meaning "shrewish."

But, save for the allusion to Ostend, an original date of 1607 would suit equally well. In that year both the old *Taming of a Shrew* and *A Woman killed with Kindness* appeared in print; and this may have been the occasion Fletcher seized for his continuation of Shakespeare's play, unless, as may be, it was his drama, produced in that case in 1606-7, that caused a demand for the older plays: indeed, it seems to me likelier that Fletcher's play was the cause than that it was the effect. It favors a dating of 1606-7 or 1607 that in II. 5 there is what may be a parody of Lear's "I will do such things: what they are yet I know not," and that there are a couple of very close comparisons with *The Woman-hater* (*The Woman's Prize*, II. 1, "My nose blown to my hand"; *The Woman-hater*, III. 1, "My nose blow'd to my hand": *The Woman's Prize*, II. 2, "Put up your pipes"; *The Woman-hater*, III. 1, "Put up thy pipes").

Whatever the original date, there was a later revision to which belong the contacts with *The Alchemist*, *The Fair Quarrel*, *Bonduca*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *Philaster*, *The Captain*, *The Coxcomb*, *Wit without Money*, and perhaps *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and the allusion (if it be an allusion) to Jonson's *Silent Woman* in I. 3—"I never will believe a silent woman." I am inclined to regard the date of the revision as about 1610.

There are many signs of abridgment or alteration. In I. 3, Petruchio's "They are" is a quote of something that has not been said; and there is probably a passage missing in front of Sophocles' "Thou, boy, thou." In III. 2, "Upon that condition, I passed thee half my land" refers to an incident that was probably in the original version. In the same scene Petruchio says, "Very

hard dealing, gentlemen," when there is no one present. As Fletcher nowhere addresses the audience in the course of a play (save in *Women Pleased*, IV. 1) we may assume that originally there were other characters on the stage at the time. In III. 4, Petruchio says he has heard Sophocles speak, when that worthy has said nothing. Had it been intended to make Petruchio make a blunder, he would have named some one not present; so the only question is: Is "Pray, sir, pray" wrongly attributed to Petronius, or has a speech of Sophocles' dropped out? The contrast between the filthy frankness of Livia in the first part of I. 2 and her propriety later in the same scene does not necessarily mean either revision or divided authorship.

Save Chelli, who ascribes it to Beaumont and Fletcher, no one doubts Fletcher's sole authorship of *The Woman's Prize*. It was ascribed by both Herbert and a revival prologue to Fletcher; but, in Archer's catalogue, to both Beaumont and Fletcher. The prologue and the epilogue were probably written for a revival of the play which took place at Blackfriars in October, 1633. That it did not belong originally to the King's men is indicated by the absence of a list of actors in the second folio; nor is it likely that the parodies of Shakespeare which the play contains would have been penned for the company with which Shakespeare was concerned. The play's alternative titles point to revision: it is a pretty sure sign of alteration on a large scale. Presumably the original name was "The Tamer Tamed," glancing at the title of Shakespeare's play. The scene is London, but the characters' names are Italian. Probably on its first production the scene was laid in Italy, as it should have

been. It may be noted that only one play written by Fletcher for King's had its scene in modern England, and that one, *The Devil of Dowgate*, is lost. *Monsieur Thomas*, *Wit at several Weapons*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Woman's Prize*, *The Night-walker*, *The Scornful Lady*, and *Wit without Money* were all written for other companies.

### 16. *Women Pleased.*

This play was entered in the Stationers' Register September 4, 1646, and first published in the folio of 1647. The second folio gives the names of the actors as Taylor, Lowin, Underwood, Benfield, Tooley, Egglestone, Sharpe, and Holcombe, precisely the same lot as appeared in *The Custom of the Country* and *The Little French Lawyer*. It was therefore a King's men's play, although, strangely enough, it does not appear in the company's repertory list of 1641. The presence of Taylor's name and the absence of the names of Burbage and Condell combine to give a date of not earlier than 1619, and (as the play was not licensed by Herbert) prior to May, 1622. The year 1621 seems most probable (though Lawrence plumps for 1619); but that was not the original production. We know this from a passage in Scene 1 of the induction to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, in which the part of the chief player was taken by Sinklo. This passage runs:

> "*Lord.* Do you intend to stay with me to-night?
> *A Player.* So please your lordship to accept our duty.
> *Lord.* With all my heart. This fellow I remember,
> Since once he played a farmer's eldest son.—
> 'Twas where you wooed the gentlewoman so well.

I have forgot your name; but, sure, that part
Was aptly fitted and naturally performed.
*Sinklo.* I think 'twas Sóto that your honor means.
*Lord.* 'Tis very true. Thou didst it excellent.—
Well, you are come to me in happy time."

This passage shows that Sinklo took the part of Soto in the original production, and therefore that the list of actors given in the folio was that of the performers in a revival. The play has indeed clearly undergone revision. In IV. 1 Soto speaks of himself as the eldest son of a farmer (precisely as he is described in Shakespeare's play); but elsewhere the farmer says he has no other son. In the Shakespeare play, Soto is spoken of as having wooed a gentlewoman: in *Women Pleased*, as we have it, he does no courting. There had probably been a big slice of comic love-making which was omitted on revision. Indeed, when the morris-dancers come in, in IV. 1, Soto begins a speech with "My own dear lady, have at thy honeycomb." If it be objected that the country wench so addressed would scarcely be described as a "gentlewoman," it may be urged that the principal female morris-dancer was probably the heroine in disguise, since she has previously been referred to by Soto as "the wench that twired and twinkled at" Silvio, "the wench that's new come hither," as is not shown in the play. Moreover, Belvedere herself, in the final scene, says, "I met you at the farmer's first, a country wench"; so that there can be little doubt that the reference in *The Taming of the Shrew* is to this play,[1] but to an incident which has not been retained in the extant version.

[1] The suggestion seriously made that Fletcher took the name from the passage in the Shakespeare play and fittingly applied it to another farmer's son is grotesque.

What then was the date of the original production? Sinklo was with the Lord Strange's men in 1591-2, and was with them when they became the King's servants in 1603. He is not known to have acted with them after 1604; in fact, in that year he drops out of theatrical history. There cannot be much doubt that Shakespeare's play dates from the sixteenth century, but also that it had insertions made in it in 1603 and in or about 1607 or perhaps later. I at first thought that this meant an exceedingly early date for Fletcher; but I was loth to take that view, and did my best to get away from it, considering it unlikely that Fletcher had written for King's about 1603 or 1604. I recognized the possibility of the original version of the play not being his, but could see no sign of another writer. Then I noted that, of the ten lines quoted, seven might be omitted without the action of the play being in any way affected, the tenth running on direct from the second. That being so, it seemed not improbable that the seven lines might be an insertion, and that the reference was not to Sinklo, but to some later actor (perhaps Egglestone), who had taken his part in *The Taming of the Shrew* and had also won fame in the part of Soto in *Women Pleased*. (If so, it had to be borne in mind that Egglestone was with King's in 1610 and 1611, but from 1611 to 1613 was with the Lady Elizabeth's.) I thought that, though it was natural to suppose that the play referred to in the "Soto" lines was a production of the King's men, it was possible that it might, in point of fact, have been produced by another company, and that the purpose of the introduction of the passage was to make known to the audience that his Majesty's servants had secured an addi-

tion to their ranks in the person of an actor who had achieved a marked success when belonging to a rival company. If so, the insertion might have been made in 1607, and the version of *Women Pleased* referred to might have been produced perhaps a couple of years earlier, since the reference was not likely to have been made to a quite new play. But the whole of the fabric I was weaving fell before the consideration that, if the "Soto" lines had been an insertion for a later revival, the name of Sinklo would not have been left in the prompt copy to denote the actor. So I returned to my former view, that *Women Pleased* was in its first form one of the earliest of Fletcher's plays and was written for the King's men. Moreover, the technique is very immature, asides being heard, and the audience being addressed. Beaumont, too, addresses the audience in his early play *The Woman-hater;* but both he and Fletcher quickly grew out of this bad habit. This then is a pretty sure sign of early work. The use of the phrase "a gentleman o' th' first house" (I. 3),[2] which occurs also in *The Woman's Prize* (IV. 1) may indicate identity of date as well as of authorship; and the use in II. 2 of the name Petruchio, as in *The Taming of the Shrew,* may point in the same direction.

To conclude with a few odd remarks upon the play, which every one is agreed in crediting to Fletcher alone (though Archer, the old cataloguer, attributed it partly to Beaumont also), I may point out that in I. 2 the Count is called "Earl"; that the treatment of Bartello in IV. 3 is reminiscent of *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* that Fletcher's burlesque vein is to be seen in Soto's first

[2] "A gentleman of the first head" occurs in Jonson's *New Inn.*

speech in V. 1; that nothing can well be more false than the relations between Isabella and Claudio throughout; that the moral tone of the opening scene is surprising for Fletcher; and that the finish, in which the old Duchess gives herself to a disappointed royal suitor for the hand of the heroine, is paralleled in *The Queen of Corinth*. The story is taken from a Spanish romance of the sixteenth century, thrice Englished during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

## *Plays by Beaumont and Fletcher Alone.*

OF the eight plays I put in this class, most critics would include six or seven, though some would place two of these in a separate class, as wholly Beaumont's. For *The Noble Gentleman* they would substitute *Cupid's Revenge*. Some would include *Four Plays in One;* while others would exclude *The Captain*.

### 17. *The Captain.*

This unpleasant, but interesting, play was first published in the folio of 1647, and was acted by Burbage, Condell, Ostler, and Alexander Cooke. It was therefore a King's men's play, and, indeed, it was presented at Court by the King's company in 1612-3 and in May, 1613. Its latest date of original production must accordingly be 1612-3; its earliest, 1608, up to which year Ostler, like his fellow Underwood, belonged to the Queen's Revels Children. Neither he nor Underwood was in the cast of Jonson's *Silent Woman* (1609-10), so they must have joined the King's as men actors in either 1608 or 1609. I favor the earlier year for the reason that Davies in his "Scourge of

Folly," entered for publication October 8, 1610, addresses Ostler as "the Roscius of these times." It is difficult to imagine his so styling any one who had not been acting men's parts at least two years.

That *The Captain* was acted in 1612 (as Lawrence affirms) may be taken for granted; but the presence of Cooke's name in the actors' list makes me doubtful if that was the year of original production. Cooke is available till 1613-4, when he died; but the last certainly dated play he appeared in was *Catiline* (1611). As he was not in the cast of *Bonduca*, I am inclined to think that play the later of the two. But *The Captain* also is not likely to date before 1611, or Hemings would have been in the cast. The play therefore may be set down as originally produced early in 1611.

I am not aware that *The Captain* contains any lines to help in its dating, unless the fact that the song in II. 2 occurs also (minus the final stanza) in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* be so considered. That the play has been altered seems pretty certain from the fact that, as Fleay pointed out, the second folio has "scene, Venice, Spain." To brush this aside, as mere "confusion," as Chambers does, is little justified. Dyce regarded the prologue as the original one, and the mention of 12d. as the price of admission as proof that it had been performed elsewhere before being performed at Court. Fleay, on the contrary, considered it showed both the prologue and the epilogue to have been written for a revival. "The author" mentioned in the prologue is, he says, "the remodeller of the play on that occasion. He complains that only a week was allowed for his work." But would he not, in that case, have been called "poet"

rather than "author"? That would have been more in accord with the usage of the day. On the other hand, the 12d. charged for admission certainly seems to apply to a Blackfriars revival, the price there being higher than at the Globe.

Of the old cataloguers, Archer gives the play to Fletcher; and Rogers and Ley to Beaumont. The only other external evidence of the authorship is G. Hills' attribution of it to Fletcher alone. His evidence does not carry much weight; and, indeed, of the eight he definitely ascribes to Fletcher alone (the other seven being *The Wild-goose Chase*, *Beggars' Bush*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The Prophetess*, and *The Little French Lawyer*), only two are shown by the internal evidence to be solely Fletcher's. Yet Hills' testimony is worth far more than that of most of the contributors of verse to the first folio, for it is to be noted that Fletcher took a leading part in every one of these plays, as well as in all the others with a share in which Hills credits him—*The Bloody Brother*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *Women Pleased*, *Rule a Wife*, and *The Elder Brother*. Six out of the sixteen are wholly Fletcher's; and Hills specifically awards him the credit for the cook in *The Bloody Brother*, a part which was indeed Fletcher's invention. Hills shines when we contrast him with Waller (who speaks as if every play in the folio were entirely Fletcher's); with Richard Lovelace (who not only awards him *Valentinian*, *The Woman's Prize*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, and *The Humorous Lieutenant*, for which he was indeed wholly responsible,

and *The Custom of the Country*, *The Little French Lawyer*, and *The Spanish Curate*, in each of which he had a main hand, but also *Philaster*, in which his part was but subordinate); or with Howard (who is apparently of the opinion that he was the sole author of *A King and no King* and *The Maid's Tragedy*, as well as of *The Faithful Shepherdess*). Still this evidence amounts to very little; and we are driven back upon the internal to determine the authorship of the play.

Fleay's original view was that *The Captain* was wholly by Beaumont and Fletcher (about two-thirds Fletcher's); later he thought it possible that Jonson worked on the first version with Fletcher, and that the play was subsequently revised; ultimately he expressed the opinion that the reviser was probably Barnes, who was responsible for the whole play after IV. 3. Macaulay at first declared for Fletcher and (?) Beaumont, and afterwards for Fletcher and (?) Massinger. Boyle voted at first for Fletcher, Beaumont, and an unknown, but later regarded the play as by Fletcher (and perhaps Beaumont), finished by Massinger; but, when he came to divide it, he ignored Beaumont altogether. He declared it "difficult to find decisive proofs" of Beaumont's presence, and yet in the same article pronounced his hand clearly traceable. Bullen's view was thus expressed: "No portion can be definitely assigned to Beaumont; but Fletcher certainly had assistance from some quarter. . . . There are occasional traces of Middleton's hand." He added that IV. 5 could not be ascribed to Fletcher, "though he probably supplied the song 'Come hither, you that love.'" My own view was that the play was Beaumont and Fletcher's, altered by

Massinger and Rowley. Ward regarded it as mainly Fletcher's. Alden was indefinite, but apparently doubted Beaumont's participation. Gayley's attitude was similar; but in his "Representative English Comedies" he declares somewhat more positively against Beaumont. Cruickshank denies Massinger's presence; and so does Chelli. Sykes informs me that he agrees with me as to Beaumont's participation. Wells sees Beaumont and Fletcher and no others. Farnham, working on the use of colloquial contractions, considers that the final scene is not by either Beaumont or Fletcher, and shows the characteristics of Davenport. My own view is that the general style of the scene is not that of Davenport.

Generally speaking, my later tendency has been, where I am doubtful as to the number of authors engaged, to prefer the minimum to the maximum. So here I am loth to endorse my previous view of Rowley's participation on the strength of a likeness to his work in only one scene, when the likeness is not positively convincing. And, more than that, I abandon my idea that Massinger's hand is also to be seen. The whole of the first three scenes I now take to be early Fletcher; and so too the last eleven speeches of IV. 5, the earlier part of that scene being in the main Beaumont's, though Fletcher's touch is also visible. I take the play to be of more than one date, and believe that Fletcher was at work on it more than once. His early work is to be seen in the scenes already named, and also in II. 1, III. 3, IV. 4 (which seems like an early attempt at his later manner), and V. 1. A scene in a much later style is III. 1, while III. 4 seems to contain verse of each period.

I before saw Beaumont in only three scenes: I now, giving him part of the scene (V. 5) which I previously attributed to Rowley, see him in four. The last-mentioned scene is not like either Fletcher or Beaumont, though there is one passage that speaks, rightly or wrongly, of the latter. I assume the scene, with no confidence, to be mixed work. In V. 4, Frank's first speech is Beaumont's; but the rest of the scene appears to be Fletcher's. V. 2 is Fletcher's, save perhaps for the last speech, which seems to be Beaumont's. Note that this speech is his not merely by the tone, but also by the structure of the verse, as is the case too with the single speech in V. 4 that is his. It seems then as if Fletcher not only left little of Beaumont's original work, but also entirely altered the tone of the play. Fletcher, in this scene, if it is to be considered early work, was trying his hand at his later methods; but, if his work is to be regarded as comparatively late, as I think it should be, he was writing in a hurry, a circumstance that would fit in with Fleay's idea that the prologue was written for the revival for which the revision was made. That is my own view; and I regard the verse as Fletcher's. The verse in III. 4 is very characteristic of Fletcher at about the time of the closing of Beaumont's career. The verse in IV. 4, on the other hand, is not particularly like him, and some of it should perhaps be printed as prose.

I must remark that the first fifteen speeches of III. 2 I would certainly give to Middleton were there positive signs of his presence elsewhere; but the only other scenes showing signs of him (and these not convincing) are the latter part of I. 3 and IV. 5. In each scene Fletcher

is present and there is nothing in this Middleton-like work that may not be his.

It will be seen that the part I accord to Beaumont is a very insignificant one; but, small as it is, it is more than Gayley is disposed to concede him, though he remarks that "the verse and prose of a few scenes do not preclude the possibility of Beaumont's co-operation," and names precisely the four scenes in which I recognize his presence. In only one of these four—IV. 5—does he perceive Beaumont's "imaginative elevation or his dramatic creativity," and he is on the whole inclined to deny Beaumont's participation. Nevertheless, I think my view, that Beaumont did participate, but that his part has been almost blotted out and the tone of the play altered, the correct one. It may be pointed out that in II. 1 it looks as if the final speech has been tacked on after what was originally the closing couplet. Contrast the remark of the Father in III. 1, "I wonder how she knew me," with his words in IV. 5, "By my voice she will discover me." Nothing comes of the handing to Ludovico of Lelia's letter in III. 2: did it lead somewhere in the original version? What this scene sets out to do is, in fact, done, but done differently, in V. 1. Note too that the Maid's suggestion, in IV. 4, that Lelia might empty a pot on the head of a person below is put into practice by herself in V. 2. One might almost think that the hint given by the original writer in the earlier scene had been used in V. 2 in the work of revision. Nothing is heard of Clora's love for Julio till the final scene, in which a sort of apology for it is tendered.

Attention may be drawn to the singular description

of the widow as "of famous memory" in both I. 1 and V. 4. The pretended hesitation of the Father in III. 2 ("It is to you—stay—yes, it is to you") is matched in V. 1, where the same character says, "Do you know a woman in this town they call . . . stay: yes, it is so . . . Lelia." This is like the Justice's "I take it so: yes, it is so," in V. 1 of *The Coxcomb*, save that in that case there is no pretense.

My division[1] is as follows:

Fl—I. 1-IV. 4, V. 1, 3
B and Fl—IV. 5, V. 2, 4, 5

[1] My "E. S." division is given for purposes of record. It is in accordance with requests that I am doing this in every case where I have varied my opinion. Here it is:

Fl—II. 1-IV. 4, V. 1, 3
B and Fl—V. 2, 4
Fl and M—I. 1-3
B and M—IV. 5
R—V. 5

### 18. *A King and no King.*

Of the three serious masterpieces with which the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher are commonly connected, *A King and no King* occupies the intermediate position. It has not a bloody ending, like *The Maid's Tragedy*, but it has a more tragic atmosphere than *Philaster*. It is real tragi-comedy, whereas *Philaster* is romantic drama, while as a specimen of the lighter romantic comedy we have yet another masterpiece (though one not generally recognized as such), *Love's Pilgrimage*. The play here dealt with was entered in the Stationers' Register by Blount in August, 1618, and

issued in 1619 for Walkley, as acted at the Globe by his Majesty's servants, and with an ascription to Beaumont and Fletcher. The publisher's epistle speaks as if both writers were alive: "It sufficeth it hath your worship's approbation and patronage, to the commendation of the authors and encouragement of their further labours." Nevertheless, nobody suggests another partner than Beaumont for Fletcher. Other quartos followed in 1625, 1631, 1639, 1655, 1661, and 1676. The date of production is certain, for Herbert records that it had been allowed in 1611, and it was acted at Court by the King's men in December of that year and again during 1612-3. The purposelessness of one of the listed characters, Mandane, serves to show abridgment at least.

My original division, from which I see no reason to vary, was:

B—I-III, IV. 4, V. 2, 4
Fl—IV. 1-3, V. 1, 3

There is no difference of opinion among investigators, even Macaulay, who was at first very hesitant, coming round at length to the general view. Gayley points out that in this play the feminine cæsura regulates two-thirds of Fletcher's lines, and not quite half of Beaumont's. The same scholar remarks, "Dryden commends Fletcher especially for the unravelling of the plot in *A King and no King*, whereas the unravelling is part of Beaumont's preponderating share in that play." Herrick, a contemporary of Fletcher's (born 1591), tells us that the plot was that writer's; and Earle informs us that it is to his kinsman Beaumont that we owe the character of Bessus. Sir George Lisle is another contemporary authority for Beaumont's participation.

Attention may be directed to the use of "meet" in the sense of "get even" in II. 2, as in *The Night-walker*, I. 1 (Fletcher); of "unhappily," meaning "waggishly," in V. 2, "unhappy" occurring in a similar sense in *The Loyal Subject*, II. 2; and of "dry-founder" in V. 3, as in II. 3 of *The Custom of the Country* (a Massinger scene). Those who care to do so may regard these as proofs of the falsity of the division arrived at.

### 19. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.*

This, the burlesque *chef-d'œuvre* of the collection, was printed anonymously in 1613, with a dedication by the publisher in which he states that he "has fostered it privately in his bosom these two years." Its first production, then, could not have been later than 1611, and was probably in 1610. In 1635-6 it was acted by the Queen's men at St. James; and it is in the Cockpit list of 1639. In 1635 it was again printed,[1] with a prologue which is merely the prologue at Blackfriars to Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, slightly altered, and an address to the readers which speaks of the author as if he were then alive.[2] It has always been a matter of controversy

[1] "As it is now acted by Her Majesty's Servants at the Private House in Drury Lane." There was yet another quarto issued the same year.

[2] "The author had no intention to hurt any one in this comedy; but, as a merry passage, here and there interlaced it with delight, which he hopes will please all, and be hurtful to none." This would certainly seem to point to some other author than Beaumont or Fletcher; and indeed the only trustworthy evidence of its right to be in this collection is its presence in the Cockpit list amongst the plays of these writers; although also the edition which contains this address expressly ascribes the play to them. There are two explanations of this apparent contradiction: either the Ralph scenes were an insertion by some writer who was living in 1635 into a play by one or both of our authors, or this address was

whether this play is the work of one man or two. Burre's dedication leaves the matter in doubt, for he speaks of the play's "parents," and then twice of its "father." The late T. S. Graves, in "Modern Philology," August, 1925, points out that Richard Vennar, in his "Apology" (1614), speaks of "the writer" of the play.

As the play was preserved by Keysar, and sent by him to Burre for publication, and as, obviously, it was written for a boys' company, there can be no doubt that it was first staged by the Queen's Revels Children, the company with which Keysar was connected. Whether the production took place at Whitefriars in 1610 or at Blackfriars in 1607 has been a matter of much controversy; but the line in the Induction, "This seven years there hath been plays at this house," has been held to settle the question in favor of Blackfriars, since the children started there in the autumn of 1600, whereas the history of Whitefriars cannot be traced back seven years from 1610. The only difficulty in regard to the performing company is afforded by the reference to Muncaster's boys, which may perhaps (though not necessarily) suggest that it was acted by Paul's; but the evidence in favor of Queen's Revels Children is very strong. The question of the theater in which the play was presented is, despite the "seven years" allusion, much more doubtful. There is some reason for thinking that the Whitefriars was in existence before 1586; but we have no definite knowledge of it before September, 1607, and it does not come clearly into view

written much earlier, perhaps for the first edition, though not then printed. It assuredly seems to be from the pen of the author of the play.

# THE KNIGHT Of the BVRNING PESTLE.

Full of Mirth and Delight.

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Written by { *Francis Beaumont*, and *Iohn Fletcher*. } *Gent.*

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As it is now Acted by Her Majesties Servants at the Private house in *Drury lane*.
1635.

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*Quod si*
*Iudicium subtile, videndis artibus illud*
*Ad libros & ad hæc Musarum dona vocares:*
*Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum.*
Horat. in Epist. ad Oct. Aug.

---

*LONDON*:
Printed by *N.O.* for *I. S.* 1635.

*Facsimile of title-page of the second quarto of "The Knight of the Burning Pestle."*

till some six months later, when a lease was signed for its occupancy. Academic scholars who deal with such questions will accept no theory for which there is not definite documentary proof. To such men, our ignorance of any occupation of Whitefriars between 1603 and 1607 means that it was not in use in those years, and consequently that the "seven years" reference must be to another house. But, as I shall endeavor to show, not only does their acceptance of a production at Blackfriars in 1607 fly in the face of probabilities to a much greater extent than the assumption of a first performance at Whitefriars in 1610, but also there is not the slightest warrant for supposing that the passage quoted means a seven-year occupancy by a single company.

In his epistle to Keysar, Burre says, "Perhaps it will be thought to be of the race of Don Quixote: we both may confidently swear it is his elder above a year." As Cervantes' famous masterpiece first saw the light in 1605, that claim may mean a date of 1603-4 for the play; but the reference can hardly be to the original. The English translation was published in 1612; so that, if Burre mean nothing more than that the production of the play anteceded the printing of the story, the play should date from 1610-1. But he may mean "above a year" from the translation's entry in the Stationers' Register; and, as that was as early as January, 1610-1, it would force back the date of the play to 1609. But that is not all. Shelton's translation claimed to have been made "five or six years ago"; and five or six years from 1612 would bring us to 1606-7, and would give a date of 1605 for the play. I think the reference must be to this translation; but that, as a

matter of fact, was based on the Brussels translation of 1607, so that it is not likely to date before 1608, making the play's date 1606-7. Gayley points out that the circulation of Shelton's version in manuscript is shown in Jonson's *Silent Woman* (1609), and there are allusions to the famous fight with the windmill in Wilkins' *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (printed 1607) and Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (1608). There is then nothing impossible in a claim of a date of 1607 for the play, if it was based on "Don Quixote"; but was it?

On this interesting question I cannot do better than turn to Dr. H. S. Murch's introduction to his edition of the play. The probability of such indebtedness was made evident by Dr. O. L. Hatcher, when, in her excellent study of Fletcher, she showed that seventeen of the thirty-four plays whose sources were known had drawn upon Spanish material. (If we were to leave out of count *The Knight*, it would leave the figures sixteen out of thirty-three.) As every one of these plays was at the time existent in either a French or an English translation (a fact pointed out by Dr. Rudolph Schevill, in a work with which I regret to be unacquainted), there seems no good reason to believe that either Beaumont or Fletcher knew Spanish. Indeed, we may go further, and say that, whether Cervantes' story was drawn on or not, there is no necessity whatever for assuming that the writer or writers of the play had *read* it, either in the original or in a translation. The question is, rather, Was he or were they acquainted with the story by hearsay?

The principal exponent of the "Don Quixote" theory

has been Dr. Leonhardt, who listed seven parallels between the play and the story; but Dr. Murch has shown that these resemblances are trivial or insignificant or superficial (in one case, even ridiculous), and that the play has apparently drawn rather on the romances that formed the foundation of Cervantes' epic than on "Don Quixote" itself. By far the most remarkable of the parallels is afforded by the inn scenes, a tavern being treated as a castle, and the innkeeper's demand for payment breaking the illusion (in the one case) and the pretense (in the other). This certainly has not been derived from the romances. The probability is then, I think, that the author or authors had been told something of the story, but had not read it. Had they been better acquainted with it, it is hard to believe that the striking figure of Sancho Panza would not have had a place in the comedy. The squire and dwarf by whom Ralph is attended are the antitheses of Sancho. They enter into the joke, and egg Ralph on, whereas Sancho, keenly alive to the folly of his demented master, does his best to set him in the path of common sense. In providing his burlesque hero with a dwarf as well as a squire, Beaumont went direct to the romances. Moreover, the conception of Ralph is fundamentally different from that of the distracted Don. It is then fair to assume that, though the author or authors obtained the idea from rumors of Cervantes' masterpiece, that work was not directly drawn upon. In the circumstances Burre's statement can hardly be regarded as fixing the date; so other indications have to be considered.

Thorndike was the first to put forward a soundly reasoned argument in favor of the 1607 date. Boyle

thought that the allusion to an incident in *The Travels of three Brothers*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register, June 29, 1607, dated the play the latter part of 1607, since such an allusion would have no force except while the play referred to was still new. But, in point of fact, the incident is specifically referred to as "stale"; and, moreover, as having been "had before at the Red Bull," though the Stationers' Register entry of June 29, 1607, gives the theater as the Curtain. The Queen's men were in April, 1609, authorized to play in both "their now usual houses"; but there is no record of their playing at the Curtain after 1609. The reference therefore would seem not to be to the original performance, and accords better with a date of 1610 for *The Knight* than with one of 1607. Both Boyle and Thorndike consider that the burlesque serves to bring the play near in date to *The Woman-hater;* but that does not appear to be a clinching argument. Gayley holds that "The muster in which Ralph had been chosen 'city captain' was evidently that of 1605"; but I doubt if this is good evidence for the early date. The mention in the Induction of a play called "The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Gresham, with the Building of the Royal Exchange" refers to Heywood's *Elizabeth, Part II*, published in 1606. That may seem to imply a date of about 1607; but Heywood's play went to a second edition in 1609, so that a reference to it in a play of 1610 is little less likely. The placing of a scene in Act IV of *The Knight* in the Moldavian court is taken by Thorndike to indicate a date of 1607, since the Prince of Moldavia is known to have been in England in that year; but it may be remarked that the visit of the prince is referred

to in Jonson's *Silent Woman* in 1609, showing that it was not then forgotten. There is therefore nothing improbable in the introduction here in 1610 of the King of Moldavia's court. On the other hand, the statement of the Citizen's wife in III, "Of all the sights that ever were in London, since I was married, methinks the little child that was so fair grown about the members was the prettiest" refers apparently to the exhibition, mentioned in Jonson's *Alchemist,* of "The boy of six year old with the great thing"; and, as Jonson's comedy was produced in 1610, this affords a strong argument for dating *The Knight* in that year. Moreover, the song-collections used by old Merry-thought were entered for publication in 1609, though of course the songs were already familiar.

But the play contains another reference which is of very great consequence. This occurs in IV. 1—"Read the play of *The Four Prentices of London,* where they toss their pikes so." It will be noted that it is the printed edition that is referred to; but the earliest edition extant bears date 1615, while the date of the first quarto of *The Knight* is 1613. It is obvious, therefore, that there must have been an earlier edition of Heywood's play, now lost. In point of fact, a play under another title, but almost certainly identical with it, was entered in the Stationers' Register for publication on June 19, 1594. This was "an enterlude entituled *Godfrey of Bulloigne, with the Conquest of Jerusalem.*" The play tells of the deeds of Godfrey and of the capture of Jerusalem. It was published as "The four prentises of London. With the Conquest of Jerusalem," so that the sub-title was retained. The prologue gives the title as

"True and Strange," with the alternative title of "the four Prentises of London." An "epistle" by the author speaks of the work as his "first practice," and as written "some fifteen or sixteen years ago." If the statement be accurate, it would seem to date the play 1599 or 1600; but Fleay pointed out reasons, since confirmed by Dr. W. W. Greg, for believing that this epistle was written for an edition, now lost,[3] of about 1610, since it also refers to a recent revival of the "practice of long-forgotten arms" in the Artillery Garden, an event which Stowe shows to have occurred in 1610. Fleay and Greg, dating *The Knight* that year, thought the reference in it must be to a 1610 edition of *The Four Prentices*, and they further connected Heywood's play with the *Godfrey of Bulloigne* acted by the Admiral's men in July, 1594; but, as Chambers points out, this was a second part, the first part being presumably the play entered for publication the previous month; and, as that ended with the capture of Jerusalem, the second part could not have covered the same ground as *The Four Prentices*. The play entered for publication in June, 1594, may be identical with the *Jerusalem* acted by Strange's men in March, 1592. In that case, Heywood's "fifteen or sixteen years ago" was loosely used. There can then be no doubt of the likelihood of an edition of 1610; and this, to my thinking, helps to turn the scale heavily in favor of a date of 1610 for *The Knight*, even when all allowances have been made for the chances of late insertions. (Lawrence also declares for 1610; but I am unacquainted with his reasons.)

The old view was that the play was wholly Fletcher's,

[3] It may, of course, never have reached publication.

and it is attributed to him in Archer's catalogue. Even Dyce was doubtful if Beaumont had anything to do with it. Fleay and Boyle considered it a joint effort; and, more recently, Ward, Murch, Moorman, Alden, Chelli, and Wells have expressed the same opinion. Macaulay gave the play to Beaumont alone, but afterwards watered his view to a "chiefly" Beaumont. Stoll and H. D. Gray have both declared for Beaumont's sole authorship. My own "E. S." attitude was an uncertain one, since I saw that Fletcher's hand might be traced in II. 3 ("E. S.," part 2, page 322); that the opening portion of the first scene should be his, judging by the number of double endings it contained; that both the stopt-line and double-ending tests told of him in IV. 4 (misprinted in "E. S." "V. 4," as II. 3 in the same line was misprinted II. 2); and that such a passage as

> "And then bring me word what tune he is in,
> And have another crown; but do it truly.
> I have fitted him a bargain now will vex him,"

smacked much more of Fletcher than of Beaumont; but I could not think that Fletcher would be contented with writing so little; and so, very hesitatingly, I declared for Beaumont alone, since I thought there was nothing in the play that might not possibly be his.

Despite the approximation in the early part of I. 1 to the mechanism of Fletcher's verse, I still believe it to be wholly Beaumont's; and his too, I consider, are the somewhat Fletcher-like lines—such as III. 1. 14

> ("Thus take my pretty love, and thus embrace him")—

found here and there throughout the play, save in IV. 4, and, even in that scene, such lines as

"Your Jasper, that's yet living and yet loving"

and

"I have the wits of twenty men about me,"

though the former may be an insertion by Fletcher, seeing that he is, in my opinion, responsible for lines 10-12

("Oh, wretched maid, still living to be wretched,
To be a say to fortune in her changes,
And grow to number times and woes together!")

and the last seven speeches. Each of these two passages not only has all the marks of Fletcher, but may well be an insertion, being detachable from the rest of the scene. From Luce's opening speech the three lines I have marked as Fletcher's may be subtracted without detriment to the sense, the passage reading, without them, thus:

"Come, come, oh Death! bring me to thy peace,
And blot out all the memory I nourish
Both of my father and my cruel friend.
How happy had I been, if, being born,
My grave had been my cradle!"

The purpose of the passage following Venturewell's entry must be to prepare for what is to occur in V. 3. It may be noted, moreover, that the tone of the three lines I suspect to have been interpolated in Luce's speech is very different from that of the rest of the speech.

Moorman thinks some of the Jasper, Luce, and Humphrey scenes Fletcher's. Boyle did not venture on the Induction or any of the Citizen and Wife interludes, nor did he express any opinion regarding IV. 5 or any of the prose scenes, save two, which he allotted to Fletcher, to whom also he gave every scene containing double-ending rhymes. In his Beaumont part

he found 16 per cent run-on lines and 8 per cent double endings; and in his Fletcher part, 19.5 per cent run-on lines, and 36.8 per cent double endings. Bullen considered it probable that Beaumont had but slight help from Fletcher. Fleay gave Beaumont all the prose, and declared the rest to be mixed, sharing the popular idea (which is entirely unwarranted) that the two writers were in the habit of working together on their scenes.

Murch's view, which is worth giving at some length, is that Fletcher's "peculiarities are demonstrably present" in the scenes which "develop the love adventures of Luce and Jasper," but in no others. He proceeds:

"The love of Luce and Jasper is, to be sure, purer than that usually conceived by Fletcher, but it is marked by the colourless sentimentality which is always present when he tries to depict a virtuous passion, while its insipidity is unrelieved by the poetic beauty infused by Beaumont (as the critics generally agree) into Bellario's lovelornness and Aspatia's repining moods. Again, Luce is of the same mold as Fletcher's heroines in her weak and unresisting submission to the feigned assaults of Jasper and in her tearful tributes to the memory of her lord and persecutor. Fletcher's women in his independent plays are almost invariably either wholly vicious or passively and imperturbably meek. No one will hesitate in the classification of Luce. . . . Jasper's pointless and unprovoked trial of Luce's fidelity and the sensational entrances and exits of the lovers in the coffin are forced, irrational, and melodramatic devices, which are akin to the many similar offences in Fletcher's later dramas, but which are not noticeably paralleled in the plays originating before Beaumont's death.

"This ascription of the love-scenes to Fletcher is borne out by a metrical analysis. In the first of them (i. 1-65) more than half the lines contain double endings, the distinguishing mark of Fletcher's verse. In the second (iii. 1-150) the proportion of double endings is small (34 out of 104 verses), but also there are only 19 run-on lines, which scarcity is indicative of Fletcher, and only 18 rhymes.

These latter, being spoken by Humphrey,[4] are, I think, added by Beaumont. In the coffin-scene, 48 of the 104 lines have double endings, only 18 are run-on, and there are no rhymes. In this apportionment of Fletcher's share I agree with Boyle. I see no reason, however, for his additional ascriptions to Fletcher. They consist of all the scenes, exclusive of Act 5, in which Humphrey appears, and seem to be founded on the fact that these contain a fair proportion of double-ending rhymes; but, as Oliphant points out, Boyle should have noted that these rhymes are not, or very, very rarely, to be found in Fletcher, while they are not uncommon in Beaumont's burlesque."

My division is:

B and Fl—IV. 4
B—the rest

Gayley regards the diversity of metrical forms as evidence of the ingenuity of Beaumont—double-ending blank verse for the romantic characters, the heroic couplet, with single and double rhymes, for the mock romantic, ten-syllable blank verse for the mock-heroic, and so on. Alden considers that the verse of Fletcher seems to appear with Beaumont's, in I. 1, 2, II. 2, and III. 1.

The song "Tell me, dearest, what is love?" may have been original, but was probably not. It occurs again in *The Captain*, with an additional stanza.

[4] This is not an accurate statement.

### 20. *The Maid's Tragedy.*

This play was first printed anonymously in 1619, as acted "divers times" at Blackfriars by the King's servants. A different version of it, "newly perused, augmented, and enlarged," appeared in 1622, also anonymously. The third quarto (1630) was the first to attribute the play to Beaumont and Fletcher. In

the years 1638 to 1661 four other editions were issued, and it was also included in the second folio. As to the date of production, it is known to have been acted at Court by the King's men early in 1613; but that it was on the stage before the end of October, 1611, seems to be shown by the fact that on the last day of that month Sir George Buc wrote on the MS. of a nameless play "This Second Maydens Tragedy (for it hath no name inscribed) may with the reformations be acted publicly." If *The Maid's Tragedy* was so fresh in his mind, we are almost justified in supposing that it was then on the boards or had been very recently. (Lawrence, however, dates it 1609.) We cannot even be sure that the play was originally produced by the King's men, though in the absence of evidence to the contrary we may assume that it was.

Although a Stationers' Register entry of January 22, 1637-8, ascribes the play to Fletcher alone, the verses of contemporaries unite in declaring that both writers had a share in its composition. Whether the work was confined to them is not so certain, and is a matter for determination purely by internal evidence; and here we are up against the fact that there is such a difference in style between the non-Fletcherian parts of this play and those of *Philaster* that one can hardly credit that they are from the one pen and of perhaps the one period. Believing the work in both to be Beaumont's, I can only account for it by supposing that when he dropped out of literature his style was in process of transformation, as witness his work in *Philaster*, *A King and no King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, and *The Captain*, each of which shows strong points of difference from the others,

though all are of the one period. He was certainly leaving rhyme behind him and using a greater proportion of run-on lines. If the evidence of Beaumont's participation in three of these four plays were not so strong, there would probably be some difference of opinion on the matter. As it is, all the critics are agreed in regarding *Philaster*, *A King and no King*, and *The Maid's Tragedy* as wholly by Beaumont and Fletcher.

My division of *The Maid's Tragedy* is:

B—I, II. 1, III, IV. 2, V. 1b, 3
Fl—II. 2, IV. 1, V. 1a (to Evadne's exit), 2.

This is precisely what it was before. It is to be noted that I now divide V into three scenes, instead of into four, as previously, the former 1 and 2 now becoming one.

From Fleay, Boyle, and Macaulay I differed in regard to V. 1b, which they all accorded, with the rest of the scene, to Fletcher; but the views of later critics have all been in accord with mine. Boyle, indeed, later admitted that I was right in refusing to credit Fletcher with the whole of the scene; but that was before he found that I dared to differ from him on other than minor matters. That V. 1b cannot be Fletcher's is perhaps sufficiently indicated by the circumstance that it does not contain a single complete line with a double ending; but I ascribe it to Beaumont only because it is not Fletcher's and I see no need to drag in a third author. Macaulay differed from Fleay, Boyle, and myself in regarding II. 2 as Beaumont's; but the only later critic to agree with him has been Alden. Thorndike's later view of the authorship of the play (as given in a

volume of the Belles-Lettres Series) is in entire agreement with mine; Alden's differs in only the one respect already mentioned; and Gayley's only in giving Beaumont as well as Fletcher a share in IV. 1. Bullen says somewhat indefinitely that "in the first three acts, Fletcher's hand cannot be traced to any noticeable extent; but he was mainly responsible for the fourth and fifth acts."

Though I attribute II. 1 wholly to Beaumont, I consider the part preceding Aspatia's first speech unlike him. The rhyme that is so frequent here is one of the most easily assumed of verse characteristics; and, bearing that fact in mind, there is no good reason to deny this portion of the scene to Beaumont. Both it and the latter part of V. 1 may conceivably be attributable to some other writer or writers; but I prefer to regard them as not very characteristic Beaumont.

In I. 1 Melantius' love is described in a way that seems to presage the girl's introduction. Is her absence due to revision or to a change of mind? The suggestion that *The Maid's Tragedy* is identical with *The Proud Maid's Tragedy* presented at Court in February, 1611-2, is absurd, since that play was given by the Lady Elizabeth's men.

### 21. *The Noble Gentleman.*

This excellent and most amusing comedy, often so astoundingly underrated, was first published in the folio of 1647. It was a posthumous play, being licensed for the King's men on February 3, 1625-6, and acted at the Blackfriars. One's natural inclination is therefore to regard it as a play which Fletcher had in hand at

the time of his death, and that it was completed by some other; but the style seems to me inconsistent with the theory that Fletcher's work in it is of his latest period. If the theory be rejected on that score, what one may best be put in its place? Was it a work wholly or partly by Fletcher produced many years previously and re-licensed in 1625-6 because it had been subjected to considerable alteration? or was it an early work by him (with or without the coöperation of Beaumont), which for some reason or other was never given to the stage, and accordingly, when found among his papers after his death, had to be licensed before it could be produced? It is against the former of these two views that I can see no hand in it outside of Beaumont and Fletcher; it is against the latter that the play has certainly been subjected to alteration. Since the style of the Fletcher passages is early, and Beaumont died in 1616, I arrive at the conclusion that this revision was itself early.

The late license is an objection which has to be fairly faced; but it is not an insuperable one. There are several ways in which it might be accounted for; but, in the circumstances, these must all be guesswork. It may mean nothing more than that the copy bearing the license had been lost, or that no new license had been obtained for the revised version, and that, the original licensed version having been mislaid, it was deemed advisable to present the later version for licensing before revival. I admit that the difficulties may most easily be accounted for by the supposition of revision by another dramatist after Fletcher's death; but I can only say that I see no reason to regard any late writer as present. Those who will not accept the theory of Beaumont's

participation may, however, regard the non-Fletcherian parts as the work of a reviser of 1625-6.

As my views of the authorship of this play differ from those of other investigators, it may be well, before giving reasons for the faith that is in me, to detail the views of others. If they fail to agree with me, they also fail to agree with one another. Ward gives the play to Fletcher; Fleay (who regards it as left in a chaotic muddle by reason of Fletcher's death), to Fletcher and William Rowley, the latter, according to his latest view, having some help from Middleton; Boyle, to the author of *The Faithful Friends* and *The Laws of Candy* (who, he thinks, is probably Shirley); Gayley, to Fletcher and (?) Rowley; and Wells, to Beaumont, Fletcher, and Middleton. Bullen goes no further than to express the opinion that "it is impossible to assign to Fletcher any portions of this poor play." Macaulay, after declaring that Fletcher "may have planned the play and written some passages, but no complete scene can be attributed to him," went further, and pronounced it not Fletcher's. Warwick Bond put forward the fantastic view that it was perhaps adapted from Tourneur's *The Nobleman* of 1612, the name probably being the sole foundation for this suggestion, since it is not easy to discover the faintest resemblance to the work of Tourneur. Stork, who has written on Rowley, says that dramatist's hand is not to be seen. Chelli accords it to Beaumont and an unknown.

If the play was rewritten in 1625-6, the work is almost certain to have been entrusted to one of four men—Jonson, Massinger, Middleton, and William Rowley. The number may, in point of fact, be reduced

to three, since Jonson did not at that late date act as a play-mender. I can discover no good ground for suspecting the presence of any of the three. The number of trochaic lines might point to Rowley (or to Shirley); but one is not justified in building much on that. In III. 3 and III. 4 there are a few lines that hint of Massinger; but they are not necessarily his, and to deduce his presence from them would be ridiculous. Fleay thought the "faithfully met" of III. 3 Middleton's; but the passage in which it occurs is not at all Middletonian. The only lines in the play that really remind me of Middleton are three in V. 1:

> "For he's the sweetest-tempered man for that
> As one can wish for. Let men but go about to fool him,
> And he'll have his finger as deep in't as the best."

I can believe neither that Middleton meddled with the play to the extent of only three lines nor that he would have done any considerable revision so late as 1625-6 without exhibiting the peculiar characteristics of a style by far the raciest and most individual of the men then writing. It may also be pointed out that the passage quoted bears some resemblance (though not in its verse characteristics) to one in V. 3 of *The Coxcomb:*

> "So sweetly-tempered
> That he would make himself a natural fool
> To do a noble kindness for a friend."

But, though I can see no good reason to believe in the presence of any one who was likely to be called on in 1625-6 to rewrite a Fletcher play, it is abundantly evident that the play has not come down to us in its original form. Amongst the signs of alteration and

abbreviation are the following: the Doctor, who appears in the list of characters, enters only in I. 1, says not a word, has only two-and-a-half lines addressed to him, and serves no purpose, there probably being a large omission after the half-line with which Marine concludes his remarks to him; in I. 4 Jaques requests Clerimont to lecture Marine once again, and Clerimont promises to; but in II. it is Jaques himself who speaks to Marine, while Clerimont has not stirred from his house, as shown in III. 1; in III. 1 Jaques shows intention to move for a dukedom, and yet makes no move subsequently (though it is possible that the author may have been satisfied with the bare suggestion); there is evidently something omitted at the beginning of IV. 2; and, finally, Maria says in IV. 5 that her unborn child (then quick) was conceived on Twelfth Night, which may be taken to show that the production for which that was written was about June or July, whereas the only production of which we know anything dates February, 1625-6.

It may be also that the repetition in V. 1 by the lady's "servant" (the "First Gentleman" of the modern editors) of words used by him (though addressed to another character) in IV. 4 is also an outcome of revisory work. In the earlier scene we read:

> "Stir not a foot;
> For, if you do, all your hopes are buried.
> I swear you are a lost man if you stir";

and in the later:

> "Do not stir a foot;
> For, if you do, you and your hope—
> I swear you are a lost man if you stir."

(A little further on in the same scene we have "He will not stir a foot.")

What then is the date of this revision? Before considering that question, it may be well to look at the external evidence of authorship.

The play was not only contained in the first folio, but was ascribed in the catalogue of Rogers and Ley and in that of Archer to both Beaumont and Fletcher. This proves nothing; but also the prologue, which claims to have been spoken at a revival, attributes the play to more than one author; and one is justified in supposing that it is Beaumont and Fletcher who are alluded to. But the value of the prologue as evidence is discounted by the fact that it is the same as is prefixed to the 1649 quarto of *Thierry and Theodoret*. It is therefore generally regarded as properly appertaining to that play, and as having been appropriated for this. In view of the fact that the publisher of the folio had two years previously attached it to this play in preference to *Thierry and Theodoret*, it seems much more reasonable to consider this its proper place. It tells us that—

> "We know
> That what was worn some twenty year ago
> Comes into grace again; and we pursue
> That custom by presenting to your view
> A play in fashion then, not doubting now
> But 'twill appear the same, if you allow
> Worth to their noble memory whose name
> Beyond all power of death, lives in their fame."

The wording of this, combined with the fact that it was spoken at a revival, led Dyce to suppose that it dated some twenty years later than the production of the

play in 1625-6; but that would take us into Civil War days. Is it not more reasonable to infer that the production of 1625-6 was itself the revival referred to? Both it and the epilogue look to me like the work of Massinger, and twenty years from then would take us to 1605-6, which I believe for several reasons to be an entirely suitable date for the original performance. If then I be justified in regarding the prologue as really belonging to this play and to the 1625-6 production of it, enormous importance must be attached to the hint it gives of the authorship, for there can hardly be a doubt that the reference is to Beaumont and Fletcher. If any one be inclined to question that, let him set it beside what is the most important piece of external evidence we have—Sir Henry Herbert's attribution of the play to Fletcher. That is so definite and of such first-rate character that Boyle and Bullen's defiance of it in denying Fletcher's participation is simply ludicrous; but, though undoubtedly correct as far as Fletcher is concerned, it is not necessarily complete, and does not shut out a probability of Beaumont's coöperation. Herbert would take what he was told by the players, whose chief concern would be to have it known that their dead master-dramatist had participated in it.

We have seen that in 1625-6 the play belonged to King's, and it is in the company's list of 1641; nevertheless it has been suggested that the *Conceited Duke* which appears in the Cockpit list of 1639 was another version of *The Noble Gentleman* not passed on to King's with the one that has come down to us. The name fits admirably; but I should be more inclined to accept the suggestion if the drama were listed with the

other Fletcher plays. It does, it is true, appear next to *Cupid's Revenge;* but it is a second entry of that play, which also has a place among the Fletcher group. I do, however, assuredly think that the chances are altogether in favor of *The Noble Gentleman* having been first produced by a company other than King's, and its transfer to another company may have had something to do with its relicensing, and with that of *The Fair Maid of the Inn,* as it had in the cases of *The Honest Man's Fortune* and *Love's Pilgrimage.* If I be right in seeing the hand of no one but Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Noble Gentleman,* the reviser was probably Fletcher, and his work was done before he began his long and final connection with the King's men. Fletcher's revision may have been made about 1613. There are resemblances to passages in *Wit at several Weapons, The Coxcomb, The Honest Man's Fortune,* and *The Knight of Malta.* These plays cover so considerable a period that nothing much is to be deduced from the circumstance, save this, that, as the latest of these four dramas appeared prior to 1617, we have some confirmation of the theory that even the revision of *The Noble Gentleman* anteceded Fletcher's death by several years. There is, however, nothing that can, on style, be dated even as late as 1613.

That the work is of early date seems to be shown not merely by the immaturity of Fletcher's verse characteristics, but also by the juvenility of the stage technique. Thus the overhearing of an aside in IV. 2 is not in accord with the later practice of either Beaumont or Fletcher. The repetitions and redundancies constitute a further proof of dramatic inexperience. Nor must one

overlook the resemblance between Jaques in this play and Savil in *The Scornful Lady*. Finally, let special note be taken of the contempt flung on country folk by both our poets:

"Dull creatures, bred of sweat and smoke" (I. 1.)

"Even such another country thing as this
Was I, such a piece of dirt" (I. 1.)

"A country fool, good to converse with dirt" (I. 4.)

"You shall live
At home, bespotted with your own foul dirt,
In scurvy clothes" (II. 1.)

"Oh, what a dunghill country rogue was I" (II. 2.)

"Which showed our dunghill breeding and our dirt" (III. 1.)

"Let us never more
Come near the country, whatsoe'er betide us!
I am in malice with the memory
Of that same stinking dunghill." (IV. 4.)

Again, in IV. 4 we have "the slavish country"; and Beaumont cannot more fitly designate a mind stupid and devoid of all ambition better than by applying to it the term "dirty," which seems most fitly to convey the impression the country made upon him. Thus, in II. 2, we have

"If you be dirty, and dare not mount aloft,"

and

"All thy counsel
Hath been to me angelical; but mine
To thee hath been most dirty, like my mind."

This abuse of the country, which seems almost as much personal as dramatic, may not be without significance when we recall the "Letter to Ben Jonson" which

Beaumont wrote some time not earlier than 1606 and not later than 1612. That letter is declared on the authority of the first folio to have been written "before he and Master Fletcher came to London with two of the precedent comedies, then not finished, which deferred their merry meetings at the Mermaid." The wording of this, and indeed the wording of the poem itself, shows that Beaumont and Fletcher were well known to the Mermaid circle before the "Letter" was written. Assuming that there is any warranty for the statement regarding the "two . . . precedent comedies," is it possible to determine what those two comedies were? The "Letter" comes immediately after *The Nice Valour*, which is the sixteenth play in the folio. The only ones of the sixteen which are not, on dates, unavailable for consideration are *Beggars' Bush*, *The Captain*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Laws of Candy*, *The Nice Valour*, and *The Noble Gentleman*. Of these, two, *The Captain* and *The Laws of Candy*, may be left out of count, because neither has any country scenes or references, while the former contains very little Beaumont, and the latter none at all; and, though it is quite possible that the two plays mentioned may have contained neither references to the country nor scenes of country life, the probabilities assuredly favor ones which show some connection with the country or with the "Letter." From the latter point of view, *The Nice Valour* certainly holds first place, since the position of the "Letter" in the folio seems to imply a reference to that play; but in no other respect has it much claim to consideration; for, though one scene is placed in the country and contains a eulogy of private life (quite contrary to the tone of

the "Letter," by the way, though dramatic exigency will of course sufficiently account for that), that scene does not appear on internal evidence to be the work of either Beaumont or Fletcher, though it may of course be based on discarded matter of theirs, the writer being apparently a reviser. *Beggars' Bush* has several country scenes, but the life shown is that of beggars, not such as either of our dramatists would be likely to be in a position to study during a sojourn in the country. The authors, in that play, went, in fact, not to life, but to Dekker's "Bellman." *The Coxcomb*, on the other hand, has real scenes of country life such as Beaumont and Fletcher may well have noted and made use of in English farm lands. Finally, we have *The Noble Gentleman*, whose claim depends on its references to country life, which are even more disparaging than those contained in the "Letter." I think then that the chances are that the two plays in question are two of the following three: *The Coxcomb*, *The Nice Valour*, *The Noble Gentleman*. Professor Gayley argues that *The Coxcomb* is one of the two, and makes out a strong case; but it seems to me that an even stronger case can be made out for *The Noble Gentleman*, because it is difficult to account for the animus shown throughout that play against country life except on the assumption that it was written while unpleasant experiences of that life embittered our dramatists. If this argument be sound, it affords a reason why Beaumont's participation in this play should be more generally admitted than it has been.

It is against the identification of this play and *The Coxcomb* with the two plays referred to in the legend

attached to the letter that, despite the statement contained therein, the letter itself implies that Beaumont had been alone in the country. It is possible that, though apart, Beaumont and Fletcher were each engaged on certain scenes of two different plays or that each was writing a play *solus;* but the title of the letter cannot be accepted too implicitly. It may have been supplied by Moseley, when the letter was first printed, in the folio of 1647. Both plays may, in fact, have been written by Beaumont alone. That is an assumption that tells in favor of *The Nice Valour,* where Fletcher seems to have been only a reviser, and against *The Coxcomb,* where he was apparently a collaborator.

But the wording of the letter shows not only that Beaumont was alone in the country when he wrote and that he was no novice in the business of playwriting (for he speaks as if he had shown previous plays to his friend Ben), but also that his close intimacy with Fletcher had not then begun, since he says he has "no good but in" Jonson's company, and protests that, when with Jonson once more, it will be his greatest comfort to acknowledge all he has to flow from Ben. If that view be correct, the chances are much greater in favor of *The Nice Valour* and *The Noble Gentleman* than of *The Coxcomb,* since the last-named is much later in style, besides being much more obviously a joint work. We are told by Jasper Mayne, in his verses in the first folio, "On the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, now at length printed,"

> "That you could write singly we may guess
> By the divided pieces which the press
> Hath severally sent forth"—

a somewhat enigmatic utterance, which may be held to refer particularly to quartos that had been issued, in which case the only plays it seems likely to point to are the anonymously published *Woman-hater*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and *Thierry and Theodoret*, two of which were probably wholly Beaumont's as first produced. Phillips too calls Beaumont "an inseparable Associate and Coadjutor with Fletcher in the making of many of his Plays, besides what he made solely himself." I believe then that the probabilities are that the two plays Beaumont wrote in the country, before he began his famous partnership with Fletcher, were *The Noble Gentleman* and *The Nice Valour*, in both of which there is some reason to think Fletcher was only a reviser.

There is, however, another reason for inferring an early date for *The Noble Gentleman*, and this is one that might seem to point to Fletcher as the original author. If my supposition be correct that Fletcher wrote his continuation of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* in 1606-7, would not this play, whose central idea is similar to (and in all probability borrowed from) that of the old play on which Shakespeare's was founded, belong to the same period? Perhaps the partnership began immediately after Beaumont's return to town, and this was the first result.

I may summarize the arguments in favor of an early date for *The Noble Gentleman* thus: (1) the reference in the prologue to a performance twenty years prior to 1625-6; (2) the certainty or near-certainty that it was first presented by another company than the King's (as shown by the absence of a list of actors and by the

relicensing of what was admittedly an old play); (3) the absence of indications of the presence of any of the men to whom the King's company would have entrusted the work of revision in 1625-6, so that even the revision, which is apparent, must have been done previously, and probably before the play was acquired by the King's men; (4) the prologue's hint that Beaumont as well as Fletcher was concerned in the authorship; (5) though the evidence for Fletcher's participation is first-class, the play shows none of his late verse characteristics; (6) the stage technique is exceedingly juvenile; (7) the play seems likely to have been one written by Beaumont before he joined forces with Fletcher or perhaps by the two together at the very beginning of their intimacy; (8) it would seem to belong to the same period as Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize*. If I were prepared to accept a date of 1607 for *The Knight*, I might add the occasional stylistic resemblance to that great burlesque as affording yet another argument.

My division of the play is:

Fl—I. 1a (to Clerimont's entry), 2, 3, II. 2a (to Gentleman's entry), III. 1, IV. 1, 2

B—I. 1b, 4, II, 1a, c, 2b, III. 3, 4, IV. 3, 4b (sixteen speeches preceding Marine's exit), 5, V. 1a, c

B and Fl—II. 1b ("*Lady*. But will you go?" and thirteen following speeches), III. 2, IV. 4a, c, V. 1b (from Clerimont's entry to Marine's third entry)

I now divide Act II into two scenes instead of treating it as only one. My allotment of scenes is greatly altered;[1] but I am by no means confident of its correct-

[1] I formerly credited Beaumont with I. 2-4, II. 1a, c, 2b, III. 2-4, IV. 3, 4b (the sixteen speeches preceding Marine's exit), 5, V. 1a (to Clerimont's entry), c (from Jaques' second exit), and Fletcher with

ness. I feel but little hesitation in declaring the work to be Beaumont and Fletcher's; but it is mostly writing of their earliest period, and I should not care to be dogmatic as to the authorship of specific passages. There are several scenes I have attributed to one or the other that may in reality contain the work of both. Thus, though it occurs in a portion of the final scene that certainly seems to be Beaumont's, Madame Marine's

> "Base, by this light!
> Extreme base, and scurvy, monstrous base!"

may quite reasonably be regarded as Fletcher's. One must not, of course, expect to see Fletcher's peculiarities in any developed form; but one may here and there see hints of the Fletcher that was to be. Thus the first four lines of the play seem like an anticipation:

> "What happiness waits on the life at court,
> What dear content, greatness, delight, and ease,
> What ever-springing hopes, what tides of honor,
> That raise their fortunes to the height of wishes!"

So too the Lady's description of Shattillion in I. 3:

> "There he goes,
> That was the fairest hope the French court bred!
> The worthiest and the sweetest-temper'd spirit,
> The truest and the valiantest, the best of judgment,
> Till most unhappy I severed those virtues
> And turn'd his wit wild, with a coy denial."

Very Fletcherian too is this from the early part of IV. 4:

> "I do not like this kissing:
> It lies so open to a world of wishes."

II. 1b ("*Lady.* But will you go?" and the six succeeding speeches), 2a (to the Gentleman's entry), IV. 1, regarding the rest as mixed.

Fletcher's hand may also be traced clearly (albeit it is early Fletcher) in the following:

> "'Tis but to be his grace's secretary,
> Which is my little all, and my ambition,
> Till my known worth shall take me by the hand
> And set me higher. How the Fates may do
> In this poor thread of life is yet uncertain:
> I was not born, I take it, for a trencher,
> Nor to espouse my mistress' dairy-maid."
>
> (III. 1.)

> "*Gent.* Let them kiss,
> And much good may 't do their hearts! they must kiss.
> And kiss, and double kiss, and kiss again,
> Or you may kiss the post for any rising:
> Had your noble kinsman ever mounted
> To these high spheres of honour now he moves in
> But for the kisses of his wife?
> *Cler.* I know not.
> *Gent.* Then I do: credit me, he had been lost,
> A fellow of no mark, and no repute,
> Had not his wife kiss'd soon and very sweetly."
>
> (IV. 4.)

I cannot understand any one denying the Fletcher origin of such lines if he be not obsessed by the idea that the late licensing of the play must necessarily imply that, if the work be Fletcher's, it will be of his latest period. Let the truth once be grasped that the licensing of what was obviously not the first version of the play is an indication that it came from another company, that the absence of an actors' list tells the same tale, and that the prologue points back to a date of about 1605-6, and it will be plain that the work must of necessity be early and that all the marks of the most highly developed Fletcher are not to be looked for.

But, further, if we have early Fletcher admitted, the objection to the presence of Beaumont goes by the board. There should indeed be no objection to it, for the prologue hints very plainly at the presence of both writers; but, even without such a signpost, there are marks of Beaumont that should not escape those acquainted with his work. In particular, attention may be directed to the way in which the imaginative is made to rub shoulders with the prosaic, Sancho Panza following upon Quixote, after the fashion of the chief author of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Thus, in IV. 3, at the close of the romantic fancies of the mad Shattillion, we have the cold return to bald matter-of-fact with Jaques'

> "Therefore, good sir,
> May it please you to show me which is the post-house?"

And in V. 1 there is a touch that, though not the same, evinces much the same mentality, and is equally Beaumontesque:

> "*Jaques.* Alas, great lord and master, I could scarce
> With safety of my life return again
> Unto your grace's house! and, but for one
> That had some mercy, I had sure been hanged.
> *Mar.* My house!
> *Jaques.* Yes, sir, this house, your house i' the town.
> *Mar.* Jaques, we are displeased. Hath it no name?
> *Jaques.* What name?
> *Mar.* Dull rogue! What! hath the King bestow'd
> So many honors, open'd all his springs,
> And showered his graces down upon my head,
> And has my house no name, no title yet?
> Burgundy-house, you ass!
> *Jaques.* Your grace's mercy!

And, when I was come off, and had recovered
Burgundy-house, I durst not yet be seen,
But lay all night, for fear of pursuivants,
In Burgundy privy-house."

Beaumontesque too, in a quite different vein, is Jaques' lament in IV. 3:

"Wretched Jaques!
Thou art undone for ever and for ever,
Never to rise again."

And, finally, is not this, from V. 1, very much in Beaumont's manner?

"Dar'st thou not fight? Behold, then, I do go,
Strong with the zeal I bear my sovereign,
And seize upon that haughty man himself.—
Descend the steps (that thou hast thus usurped
Against the king and state) down to the ground;
And, if thou utter but a syllable,
To cross the king's intent, thou art but dead.
There lie upon the earth, and pine, and die."

Lest it should be Field, instead of Beaumont, whose touch was to be discovered in this play I subjected two scenes (I. 4 and III. 3) to the following verse-tests—medial-ending speeches, medial pauses, speeches ending in short lines, self-contained speeches, lines divided between speakers, double endings, excessive feminine double or quadruple endings, and run-on lines. I found that six of the eight were in accordance with the practice of Beaumont, and only four in accord with that of Field.

A few lines in conclusion. The roughness of some of the verse may possibly be due to corruptness. The awkward namelessness of many of the chief characters may be thought to imply incompleteness, but does not neces-

sarily do so. It is, in fact, characteristic of Middleton.[2] It is somewhat against the correctness of my division that in both II. 2a and IV. 4b we have consent given in the words "It shall be done," and that in both I. 1b and 1. 2 we have an explanatory "I mean."

> "A sun
> That draws men up from coarse and earthly being
> (I mean, those men of merit that have power
> And reason, to make good her benefits)"

and

> "This is the rarest fellow, and the soundest
> (I mean, in knowledge), that e'er wore a codpiece."

Finally, we find Fletcher using "fairly welcome" in I. 2, and in V. 1b a use of "party" in the sense of "person" that must be borne in mind when *Wit at several Weapons* is under consideration.

[2] M. Mount Marine of the text (M. Marine of the list of characters in the 1679 folio) is called simply "Gentleman" and "Duke" in the stage directions and sideheads, while Clerimont appears only as "Cousin" (variously spelled). Madame Marine's gallant appears in the *dramatis personæ* as "A gentleman," in the stage directions as "The Servant" and "Servant," and in the sideheads as "Servant," abbreviated. "Shattillion's Mistress" of the character list is "Love" in the sideheads and "Shattillion's Love" and "Love" in the stage directions. Marine is not the only "Gentleman" or the only "Duke" in either sideheads or stage directions; and the title "Servant" is given indiscriminately to the lady's gallant and to a domestic; but the greatest confusion is in connection with the respective wives of Marine and Clerimont. The latter is merely "Wife" in both sideheads and stage directions, though twice in the latter case there is an indication whose wife she is. The other appears in the stage directions as "Gent. Wife" and "Wife," and in the sideheads as "Wife," "Lady," and "Duchess" (abbreviated). There is one scene in which both women are present and both are, in the sideheads, entitled "Wife." This does not make for clearness.

### 22. *Philaster.*

The first edition of this well-known play (1620)

was presumably a piracy, for, as Dyce says, "both at the beginning and at the end of the play, the text is so utterly and absurdly different from the text of the authors as to leave no doubt that those portions must have been supplied for the nonce by some hireling writer; and throughout all the other scenes very gross mistakes occur." Fleay, however, suggests that the versions of I. 1 and V. 4, 5 were made for the Court performances of 1612-3. The same publisher (Walkley) put out a new edition two years later, "corrected and amended" and "purged of the gross errors" of the earlier one, the epistle to this quarto speaking of the "dangerous and gaping wounds . . . received in the first impression." Walkley is careful to say that the hurt was done neither by himself nor by the printer. Other quartos followed in 1628, 1634, 1639, two in 1652, and one undated, but supposed to be of either 1660 or 1663. The first quarto claimed to give the play as acted at the Globe by the King's men; but Lawrence ("Times Literary Supplement," November 17, 1921) argued that it gave Fletcher's text, as written for a boys' company, with a beginning and ending by some hack writer, and that Beaumont subsequently rewrote the entire play for the King's; but he gave no reasons of weight. It is, however, quite possible that the play may have been acted, even in its true form, by some other company before going to the King's, for, though both versions claim to be as acted by the King's men, they do not assert that that was the first production. For that matter, they both claim to be the work of Beaumont and Fletcher, whereas there is certainly work in the first quarto that cannot be set down to the discredit of either.

The external evidence of the authorship of the play (I am speaking now, and henceforth, unless I state to the contrary, only of the legitimate version) is tolerably complete. It has been claimed that Earle, in his verses on Beaumont, speaks of *Philaster*, *A King and no King*, and *The Maid's Tragedy* as wholly Beaumont's. Nothing of the sort. Here is what he says:

> "Alas! what phlegm are they compared to thee
> In thy *Philaster* and *Maid's Tragedy?*
> Where's such an humour as thy Bessus, pray?"

He means nothing more than that Beaumont was a principal author of *Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy*. As for *A King and no King*, he only claims the character of Bessus for Beaumont. Similarly, Herrick speaks of *Philaster*, *A King and no King*, and a character in *The Maid's Tragedy* as Fletcher's. Davies in his "Scourge of Folly" seems to imply that *Philaster* is, like *The Faithful Shepherdess*, Fletcher's; but he does not definitely say so. Dryden credits it to the two, and tells us it was their first success; and, though his testimony has not the merit of being contemporary, it may be correct.

The question of date is more bothersome than that of authorship. The mention of it in Davies' "Scourge of Folly" must date it prior to October, 1610, when that work was entered in the Stationers' Register, unless we are to suppose that the reference was furnished between registration and publication in 1611. Macaulay thinks "the supposed reference" in "The Scourge of Folly" doubtful; but I know no reason why it should be so regarded. Gayley dates the play between December, 1609, and July, 1610, mainly because he accepts a date of 1609

for *Cymbeline*, which he is convinced is followed, instead of *Cymbeline* being the later, as is Thorndike's idea. I do not know that we can get much nearer to fact than to take 1610 as an almost certain limit in one direction (with 1611 as the absolute limit), and with 1608 as a probable limit in the other. Lawrence declares for 1609. I also incline to that year, accepting Dryden's statement, and regarding the play as not originally written for the King's men.

The sub-title is "Love lies a-bleeding"; but the Vertue list of plays presented at Court in the early part of 1613 contains the two names, *Philaster* coming first of the fourteen plays given by the King's men, and *Love lies a-bleeding* last. It is not likely that any company would possess two different plays of the one name. It is more likely that, when *Philaster* was first given at Court in 1612-3, something in it proved displeasing to the King, and that it was rewritten and presented anew as "Love lies a-bleeding." The latter may, however, be judged by its use in Davies' epigram to be the original title. It was certainly older than 1612.

The joint authorship of this play by Beaumont and Fletcher is almost universally acknowledged. My division of it is:

B—I. 1a, 2, II. 1, 2a, 3, 4a (to "*Megra appears above*"), III. 1, 2a, c, IV, V. 1, 2, 5

Fl—I. 1b (from the beginning of Pharamond's speech), II. 4b, V. 3, 4

B and Fl—II. 2b (from "Yet, for all this, I'll match ye"), III. 2b (from the King's exit to Philaster's)[1]

[1] It is against my division that we have Pharamond spoken of in IV. 2 as "his beyond-sea-ship" and addressed in V. 4 as "my beyond-sea sir," since these are likely to have come from the one hand.

(I now reckon six scenes, instead of four, to Act IV.) Save that I formerly began the Fletcher portion of the opening scene at Galateas, laughter, and that, regarding III. 2, I went no further than to say that I was not sure that it did not contain work of Fletcher's, the only change from my "E. S." allotment is the transference of II. 2 from Fletcher to Beaumont and Fletcher. III. 2b I consider an insertion by Fletcher in a Beaumont scene, but apparently based on work of Beaumont's, since we see Beaumont in the opening lines of Philaster's longest speech, as far as "And live to curse you."

Boyle gave Beaumont the entire play, with the exception of V. 3 and 4, but thought IV. 4 might have been altered by Fletcher; but afterwards he admitted that I was right in awarding II. 4b to the latter. Macaulay gave the whole play to Beaumont; but subsequently he gave way to the consensus of opinion so far as to admit that V. 3 and 4 were perhaps Fletcher's, as well as detached passages elsewhere. Fleay was in agreement with me as to those scenes on which he expressed an opinion. Bullen gave Fletcher "the rhetorical harangue" in I. 1, "detached passages in the fourth act," and V. 3-4. Thorndike and Alden absolutely confirmed my "E. S." partition of the play; but Gayley sees Beaumont as well as Fletcher in the latter part of I. 1 (from the King's entry), and Fletcher as well as Beaumont in II. 4a. Like myself, he sees Fletcher and Beaumont together in III. 2b; he thinks that here Fletcher revised Beaumont's first draft. Wells regards it as a joint play, but thinks Fletcher's share negligible.

Beaumont has had more than justice done him as re-

gards this play, while his colleague's part is not quite so insignificant as the critics suppose. Are not these lines (from I. 1) his?

> "I fear not for myself, and yet I fear too";
>
> "Oh! this same whoreson conscience, how it jades us!"
>
> "If you had my eyes, sir, and sufferance,
> My griefs upon you, and my broken fortunes,
> My wants great, and now nought but hopes and fears,
> My wrongs would make ill riddles to be laugh'd at."

This scene contains 38 per cent double endings, which is far above the average in the Beaumont parts of the play. The conclusion of II. 4 is an example of the near relation Fletcher's prose bears to his verse:

> "*Cle.* Why, here's a male spirit for Hercules. If ever there be nine worthies of women, this wench shall ride astride, and be their captain.
>
> *Dion.* Sure, she has a garrison of devils in her tongue, she uttereth such balls of wild-fire. She has so nettled the King that all the doctors in the country will scarce cure him. That boy was a strange-found-out antidote to cure her infection: that boy, that princess's boy, that brave, chaste, virtuous lady's boy; and a fair boy, a well-spoken boy! All these considered can make nothing else.—But there I leave you, gentlemen."

That is exactly the prose the author of *The Loyal Subject* might be expected to write.

In III. 2 occurs a figure,

> "Strike the monuments
> Where noble names lie sleeping, till they sweat
> And the cold marble melt,"

which, as Gayley points out, is repeated in *A Wife for a Month*, II. 2. What I judge to be Beaumont's

"When any fall from virtue,
I am distract. I have an interest in't,"

in III. 1, appears to be copied by Fletcher in I. 1 of *The Custom of the Country* ("Virtue is never wounded but I suffer"). I may direct attention to the ceremonious and rather legal style of the twelve opening speeches, of which five begin "Sir"; one, "Faith, Sir"; and one, "Credit me, gentlemen."

The alternative first quarto reading is obviously corrupt; but it is also obviously another version. The dialogue between Dion, Cleremont, and Thrasiline in the final scene, omitted in the other quartos and the folio, is Fletcher's; elsewhere the work peculiar to this version comes from neither Beaumont nor Fletcher, but from another writer, whom I do not pretend to name.

### 23. *The Scornful Lady.*

It was within a fortnight of Beaumont's death that this excellent comedy was entered in the Stationers' Register. There were no less than eight editions of it before it appeared in the second folio, three of them being subsequent to the closing of the theaters. The earliest was in 1616 and the second in 1625. Between those two dates it had been transferred from one company to another, for, though it had (as the first quarto tells us) been acted by the Queen's Revels Children at Blackfriars, the second edition describes it as being "as it was now lately acted (with great applause) by the King's Majesty's Servants at the Black Friars." That statement may be relied upon, especially as the publisher (Partrich) was the man who had brought out the first edition. It had, in fact, been acted by the King's men in

1624, when the part of the Curate had been played by Shanck. The date of first production must have been prior to March 19, 1615-6, when the entry was made in the Stationers' Register. In order the more nearly to fix the time of its staging, we must bear in mind the theatrical history of the period. The Queen's Revels Children left the Blackfriars about August, 1609. If then the theater referred to on the title-page of the first quarto was the old Blackfriars, the latest date for the first staging of the play would be 1609; but it may be that the reference was to Porter's Hall, which would give a date of the very end of 1615 or 1615-6 (as favored by Lawrence). If it be a production of that time that is referred to, we must bear in mind that that performance may have been a revival.

There are four passages in the text that may help us in the dating. There is an allusion to the separate binding of the Apocrypha, a subject of discussion in the early days of King James' reign as concerned both the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Douay Version, both of which were finished in 1610. That may, as Fleay argued, make for a date prior to 1610; but the discussion did not cease then, and it is possible for such a reference to have been written three or four years later, though certainly a date of 1610 would seem to suit it best. Next is an allusion to Jonson's *Silent Woman*, acted 1609-10. As the chances are greatly in favor of such an allusion being almost contemporary, that points to a date of 1610, and fits in well with the probability raised by the reference to the Apocrypha. Next comes the allusion to the "cast Cleve captain." This must refer to English auxiliaries in the Cleve wars, and they took

no part in the fighting till the latter part of 1610. During 1614, when active hostilities had ceased, many captains were probably "cast"; and, after the war had been ended by a treaty of peace, in November, the balance of them would be thrown on the world. This then would seem to favor a date of 1614 or 1615, though it does not absolutely preclude one as far back as the close of 1610. Finally, there is the allusion, pointed out by Professor Gayley, to the negotiations of Don Diego Sarmiento for the marriage of the Infanta to Prince Charles. These did not begin till early in 1613, and did not become public property till April, 1615. We have also, as Thorndike has pointed out, a gird at *Hamlet*, a reference to the "Mirror of Knighthood" (1602), as in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, an allusion to Breton's "Madcap," as in *The Coxcomb*, and mention of building a hospital, as in *The Woman-hater;* but these things do not help us very much. What is certain then is that part at least of the play dates not earlier than 1613, and probably as late as 1615. The Cleve allusion, like the Don Diego one, would belong to this period. The *Silent Woman* and Apocrypha references would seem, though less surely, to point to a version of 1610 or thereabouts. In any case, it looks as if the theater mentioned on the title-page must have been Porter's Hall. If so, the original place of production may have been Whitefriars, since the Queen's Revels Children went there after being turned out of Blackfriars. Gayley argues that, if the play had been in existence before March, 1612-3, it would have been presented at Court, like *The Coxcomb* and *Cupid's Revenge*, for the Princess Elizabeth's wedding festivities; and the argument seems reasonable,

though not conclusive. We must ultimately judge of the dating, as of the authorship, by the internal evidence.

All the critics agree in accepting the ascription of the first quarto to Beaumont and Fletcher. What is more conclusive evidence than that of the title-page is that the Stationers' Register of March 19, 1615-6, makes the same attribution. Waller writes of it and *The Maid's Tragedy* as Fletcher's; but he is not of much authority. The only change I have made in my division of the play is to give I. 2 to Fletcher instead of to Beaumont, whose share of IV. 1 (referred to in "E. S.," second article) consists of the first fourteen speeches. My division is therefore now:

B—I. 1, II. 1, IV. 1a (14 speeches), V. 2
Fl—I. 2, II. 2, 3, III, IV. 1b, 2, V. 1, 3, 4

Bullen assigns Beaumont the first two acts (apparently because "they are chiefly written in prose"), and Fletcher the larger share of the rest. Fleay makes no attempt at division; and Boyle leaves I. 2 and II. 1 alone, gives IV. 1 wholly to Fletcher, and is inclined to think II. 3 Beaumont's. Macaulay gives Beaumont all of Acts I and II and V. 2, is not quite sure that the prose opening of IV. 1 is Fletcher's, and thinks III. 2 a combined effort. How he could fail to see that II. 2 was Fletcher's I do not know. Whose else could this be?

"These transitory toys ne'er trouble me;
He's in a better place, my friend; I know't.
Some fellows would have cried now, and have cursed thee.
And fall'n out with their meat, and kept a pother;
But all this helps not: He was too good for us,
And let God keep him!

There's the right use on't, friend. Off with thy drink:
Thou hast a spice of sorrow makes thee dry:
Fill him another."

or this?

"*Yo. Lo.* Come, my brave man of war, trace out thy darling;
And you, my learned council, set and turn, boys;
Kiss till the cow come home; kiss close, kiss close, knaves;
My modern poet, thou shalt kiss in couplets.
Strike up, you merry varlets, and leave your peeping;
This is no pay for fiddlers.
*Capt.* Oh, my dear boy, thy Hercules, thy captain,
Makes thee his Hylas, his delight, his solace;
Love thy brave man of war, and let thy bounty
Clap him in shamois! Let there be deducted
Out of our main potation five marks,
In hatchments, to adorn this thigh,
Cramp'd with this rest of peace, and I will fight
Thy battles.
*Yo. Lo.* Thou shalt have't, boy, and fly in feather.
Lead on a march, you michers."

It will be noticed that I differ from both Boyle and Macaulay in regard to only II. 3. It is, I suspect, the corruptness of the text that has led them to give it to Beaumont: it is printed almost throughout as prose but much of it can easily be turned into verse, and into verse that is clearly Fletcher's. Is not this his?

"*Mor.* Be silent, sir:
I have no money; not a penny for you.
He's sunk; your master's sunk, a perished man, sir.
*Sav.* Indeed his brother's sunk, sir; God be with him!
A perished man, indeed, and drown'd at sea."

I have little doubt but that the whole or almost the whole scene was written in verse, although in its present

condition not much can be made of it. (Still, there are in some of the Fletcher scenes passages printed rightly as prose, showing that he did not always use verse in the earlier part of his career.) We see here his mannerisms in the early stages of their development: there is no such excess of double endings, no such avoidance of run-on lines, and above all there are none of those singular modes of expression that he subsequently adopted.

This then brings me to a belief in an early date for the play in its first form, and that the version of 1615 was only a revision. There are plenty of signs of alteration; but before I get on to that matter I had better finish what I have to say about the views of other investigators.

Wells wrote regarding my partition, "I agree with you entirely"; but that was before he knew I had transferred I. 2 from Beaumont to Fletcher; so presumably he now disagrees with me as to one scene. Gayley confirms my "E. S." allotment, save as to IV. 1, which he gives wholly to Fletcher, and III. 1, of which he says, "Unless the scene is Fletcher's, revised imperfectly by Beaumont, it is the work of some third author," perhaps Massinger. He claims that the "ye" test confirms Beaumont's authorship of I. 1, 2, II. 1, V. 2. He thinks it not unlikely that Beaumont revised the play up to the end of II, and asserts, "It is the only one of the joint plays which he did not copy out or thoroughly revise in manuscript, eliminating all or nearly all of Fletcher's distinctive 'ye's' and 'y'are's,' and reducing to uniformity the nomenclature of the *dramatis personæ*." This may be so; but it seems to me a somewhat perilous surmise. Alden differs from my present view only in regard to

I. 2 and in seeing Beaumont as well as Fletcher in II. 2. Bond takes a radically different view, inclining to regard as Beaumont's only I. 1 and V. 2. One may unreservedly agree with him when he declares that II. 3 cannot be Beaumont's (I am not aware that any one but Boyle and Macaulay ever thought it was); but, when he says that there is a "strong suspicion of Massinger about the play, strongest perhaps in II. 1 and III. 1," I can only remark that to me there seems not the slightest reason for any such "suspicion."

The play has almost certainly undergone alteration. The Fletcher, though generally of early date, is not always so, the first speech of II. 2, *e.g.*, being an exception. In part of III. 2 he is quite Jonsonian; V. 2 is very typical Beaumont; and so is the description of Abigail in I. 1. The wit of that opening scene is like a foretaste of Congreve, as in Welford's "Bid my man to neglect his horse a little, to attend on me," and as in

> "*Wel.* I am only allied to his virtues.
> *Rog.* It is modestly said."

There may or may not be inferences in favor of a theory of rewriting to be drawn from the double name given to the Lady's "waiting gentlewoman"; but there are certainly other good reasons. One is to be found in the dumbness of the Tobacco-man, who never speaks except in chorus. The Traveller also is mute on nearly every occasion on which he appears. Although we are notified of the presence of Young Loveless' "comrades" in II. 3, one is absent, for the Captain says to Young Loveless "We are three that will adorn thee"; and the Poet, evidently including Young Loveless himself,

says, "Only we four will make a family." The third one present may be either the Tobacco-man or the Traveller: there is no indication which. Again, in V. 2, Abigail's description of her reception by the Elder Loveless does not tally with the facts in V. 1. Loveless did not say to Abigail the things she says he said; he did not mention "one whom he was bound not to leave"; and she could not have heard anything of the servants' chatter, because at the time of her visit they did not know of their master's intention. At least the part of V. 1 containing the interview between Abigail and Loveless would seem to be a later insertion. Also, as Gayley points out, Savil in I appears not only to be honest, but "to be designed with a view to a leading part in the complication; in II. 2 Fletcher reduces him to drunkenness and servility."

In this comedy Beaumont shows no more respect for womankind than does his partner, to whom, however, is due the admirable touch of tender-hearted humanity in the old slut, Abigail. The story turns on the sort of woman-hunt that Fletcher afterwards exploited in *Monsieur Thomas* and *Wit without Money;* and it is noticeable that he had also the larger share in this work. His II. 2 contains two parallels with other work of his—"a bridling cast" with *Women Pleased,* II. 6; and "an iron mill" with *The Woman's Prize,* IV. 5. It is worth noting that this play was the first one to be printed over the joint names of the two friends.

### 24. *The Woman-hater.*

On Garrick's copy of the anonymous first edition of this admirable farcical comedy, licensed for print-

ing May 21, 1607, and published the same year, Fletcher's name had been written, but afterwards scratched out, and Beaumont's substituted. Even this later attribution is declared to be in an old hand—how old I do not know. Presumably the writer of this correction was not without authority for it. It is to be noted that neither ascription provides for more than a single writer; and the prologue also distinctly states it to be the work of one man. Was that one Beaumont or Fletcher? The evidence before us leaves us doubtful, with the probabilities rather favoring Beaumont; but D'avenant, who wrote a prologue for a revival, believed that it was Fletcher. When he says,

> "'Twas he reduced Evadne from her scorn,
> And taught the sad Aspatia how to mourn;
> Gave Arethusa's love a glad relief,
> And made Panthea elegant in grief,"

he may leave the matter in doubt, since the dramas referred to—*The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, and *A King and no King*—were all joint works; but when he says "Full twenty years he wore the bays" he cannot possibly be referring to Beaumont. As D'avenant is a fairly good authority, the question is left remarkably open. But this is not quite all the evidence: the two editions of 1607 were followed by one of 1648, which stated it to be "written by John Fletcher, Gent.," while an edition of 1649, which gave its title as "The Woman Hater, or The Hungry Courtier," attributed it to Beaumont and Fletcher jointly. This last contained the prologue (already referred to) written by D'avenant for his revival of the play (and published also in his "Works")

and an epilogue probably also by him, but identical with the epilogue to *The Noble Gentleman*. The question of authorship is then a difficult one, which can only be decided by the internal evidence.

The first quarto assures us it is given "as it hath beene lately acted by the Children of Paules," but the '48 and '49 quartos profess to give it "as it hath beene acted by his Majesties Servants." Precisely when it came into the hands of the King's men we do not know. The original production must have been prior to May 21, 1607, when the play was licensed for printing. Fleay thought it was entered in the Register immediately after its staging, because he took "a favorite on a sudden" to be a reference to Robert Carr, who had attracted the King's notice less than two months previously; but James' partiality for the youth did not become notorious till some time later, so that this allusion is merely fanciful; nor is Fleay's other suggestion of a reference to the flood of January 20, 1606-7, convincing. Thorndike gives good reasons for accepting a date of 1605-6. The prologue's statement of the author's intention not to lose his ears is probably an allusion to the peril that Jonson and Chapman were in as a result of the performance of *Eastward Hoe* in 1604-5. The parodying of *Hamlet* does not help us; and the apparent reminiscence of *Antony and Cleopatra* to which Gayley directs attention also proves nothing. The same scholar gives, however, excellent reasons for believing that the satirizing of informers points to events of November, 1605, and later. We may, I think, feel fairly sure of a date of 1605-6. (Lawrence says 1605.) The Paul's boys company broke up in 1607, when half-a-dozen of

their plays were licensed for publication. This was one of them.

The opinions of recent critics are divided between allotting the play to Beaumont and Fletcher and awarding it to the former alone. Macaulay declared the play wholly Beaumont's, as did Fleay, after regarding it at one time as "nearly or quite all" Beaumont's; while Boyle, after giving it to Beaumont and an unknown, confessed to an inclination to award it to Beaumont alone; but Gayley and Alden join with me in seeing the presence of Fletcher also; and so does Wells, who writes, "I agree with you that there are bits of Fletcher in the scenes specified by you." Professor R. H. Case, in an article in the "Quarterly Review" of January, 1914, shows himself of the same opinion, remarking, "Oriana has the daring and initiative, the insensitiveness to blackguard language characteristic of the more prominent Fletcher type of maiden, and is as persistent in her whimsical pursuit of the misogynist as is her namesake in her serious pursuit of Mirabel in *The Wild-goose Chase*." So far as I am aware, Chelli is the only later critic who has pronounced in favor of Beaumont alone.

My own view still is that Fletcher's part in it is so small that it is easy to understand its being called a one-man play. As before, I find him only in two scenes. In III. 1 he seems to have worked over Beaumont's original, adding coarsening passages. The two speeches following Oriana's first entry, the four-line speech ending "The sullen strains of my neglected love," the fifteen speeches preceding the Duke's exit, and the final ten speeches are Beaumont's contribution; the song may be attributable to either of the partners; and the rest of

the scene is Fletcher's. In V. 5 Fletcher is responsible only for the eleven speeches ending "Oh, that this brunt were over!" In III. 1 the coarseness of

> "Mine eyes look'd babies in, and my nose blowed to my hand"

reminds us of Fletcher; and it is difficult to regard as any one else's such lines as

> "Sing till thou crack thy treble-string in pieces,
> And, when thou hast done, put up thy pipes and walk."

The Fletcher part of the final scene contains about 50 per cent of double endings, which is much higher than in any other part of the play.

Alden's only disagreement with me is that he gives Fletcher a share in V. 2; while Gayley differs from me only in crediting Fletcher with IV. 2, as far as Oriana's entry, and with practically the whole of V. 5; III. 1 he regards as a Fletcherian revision of Beaumont's work as far as the Duke's entry, the remainder being wholly Beaumont's. He arrives at these conclusions mainly on verse-tests and the "ye" test.

In III. 3 we have a line,

> "Sirnamed 'gentle' for your fair demean,"

that might figure in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.* In IV. 1 we have the construction

> "He that confesses he did once dissemble,
> I'll never trust his words";

and, in V. 2,

> "He that began so worthily,
> It fits not with his resolution
> To leave off thus."

Similar constructions are met with in *The Coxcomb.*

Beaumont's scorn of the public in I. 3 may be compared with the defense of courtiers in the prologue. . . . His attack on intelligencers fits in with the story of Beaumont and Fletcher being arrested on a charge of high treason. . . . Who is the person addressed in the latter part of the opening speech of III. 3? . . . The pronunciation of the name Gondarino appears to be variable. . . . The real innocence of Oriana, as shown in II. 1, is sufficient to prove her not to be Fletcher's creation. . . . In that scene note also how the characters are explained—deliberately explained—instead of being allowed to express themselves naturally. . . . The play displays Beaumont's two styles of burlesque, that in which the absurdity consists in the vulgarity and inappropriateness of the language employed, and that in which it is the subject, not the language, that is ridiculous. Sometimes it rises to genuine satire, as in II. 1, where Lazarillo is taught to speak poetically. One may note too Beaumont's tendency to rant when indulging in "fine writing." These matters are worth pointing out because of the importance of this play to any one wishing to differentiate between the two partners.

As the critics are all agreed, even in detail, as to the authorship of *A King and no King*, I undertook a comparison of III. 1 of that play with V. 2 of this, to see what variation they showed in Beaumont's verse characteristics. I tried some thirty-five or thirty-six different tests, and obtained some strange results. The proportion of end-stopt and run-on lines, of stressed endings, of excessive feminine endings (to total feminine endings), of medial breathings (especially on the third foot), and of breathings on unstressed syllables shows

little variation; but some of the other tests exhibit great divergencies. Thus, the percentage of lines carrying anapæsts is 17.2 in the *Woman-hater* scene, and only 3.6 in the scene from *A King and no King;* and other startling differences are: divided short lines, 6.7: 19; short lines, forming complete speeches, *nil:* 38.1; divided lines, 6.6: 17.3; single-line speeches, 16.7: 52.4; unstressed endings, 17.6: 7.6; detached speeches, 46.7: 20.4; single-line detached speeches, 40: 13; improperly run-on lines (percentage of total run-on), 12.5: 2.6; main pauses on first foot (percentage of total medial main pauses), *nil:* 13.8. It seems to me that if one is to rely on verse-tests he must consider all these and others. One must expect divergencies, but they should not (if the plays compared are of the one period and the one authorship) exceed in number the close resemblances. These results serve to show what I have remarked elsewhere, the extreme variability of Beaumont's style.

## *Plays Wholly by Fletcher and Massinger.*

I GROUP eleven plays under this heading. Other critics would add *Beggars' Bush;* and some would include *The Two Noble Kinsmen.* The eleven are practically unquestioned.

### 25. *Barnavelt.*

This fine tragedy is in neither folio, but fortunately has descended to us in MS. It was acted by the King's men in August, 1619, among the actors being Rice,

Robinson,[1] G. Lowin, Holcombe, Birch, (?) Tooley, Pollard, and R. Gough. Though the names of Robinson, Holcombe, Birch, and Pollard are given only in abbreviated form, and Tooley figures merely as "Nick," there can be no real doubt regarding any of them. The external evidence of authorship is *nil;* but critics are agreed in attributing the play to Fletcher and Massinger. When it is considered that it shows the peculiarities of both these authors very plainly, that they frequently wrote together, that they had just written (with Field) a play on a kindred subject (the lost *Jeweller of Amsterdam,* which is credited to the three men in a Stationers' Register entry of April 8, 1654, and was, it is safe to assume, written immediately after the death of Wely in 1619), that, as the date of production shows that the work must have been begun almost immediately after the execution of Barnavelt, it may be reckoned a piece of job work, such as would necessarily be given to the recognized poets of the company, and that Fletcher and Massinger were the company's poets at that date, it must be acknowledged that there is not much likelihood of the critics being wrong, even though the folio of 1647 claimed to include all the unpublished Fletcher plays save *The Wild-goose Chase.* The fact of the play's suppression, even though that was eventually overcome, has been thought to account for its omission, but does not really do so. There are other plays, both extant and lost, also missing from the collection.

[1] Miss Frijlinck considers that "Rob" stands for Robert Benfield; but Ostler's successor would not have been playing a couple of minor parts. With the exception of Gough, the actors named are only those playing small parts.

I have made no alteration in my "E. S." division of the play, save in the trifling respect that I begin the Fletcher portion of V. 1 with the departure of the ambassadors instead of with the entry of Barnavelt, thus coming into line with Dr. Frijlinck. My allotment is then:

M—I. 1-2, II. 1, III. 2, 5, IV. 7-8, V. 1a, c
Fl—I. 3, II. 2-7, III. 1, 4, 6, IV. 1-6, V. 1b (from the departure of the ambassadors to the exit of Barnavelt), 2, 3

On III. 3, I venture no opinion. It is a very short scene with no certain signs of either Fletcher or Massinger. As it is an insertion, it may be the work of neither. It may be noted that I now divide IV into eight scenes, instead of five, as formerly; and that II. 7 is not treated as a separate scene in the MS. Boyle's allotment varied from mine in giving III. 3 to Massinger and all of V. 1 from the Provost's entry to Fletcher; but he would say no more of II. 3-7 than that these scenes were "probably" Fletcher's. Bullen gave his opinion on only a few scenes (III. 1, 2, part of 6, IV. 8, V. 1, 3), not, I think, very successfully, since he considered III. 6 Massinger's and gave him the whole of V. 1 also. Fleay first credited the play to Fletcher, Massinger, and Field, but later dropped Field. Swinburne considered II wholly the work of Massinger, expressed no view regarding IV. 7, and allotted to Fletcher III. 3 and the close of V. 1. Cruickshank has stated his view as to only some scenes, meaning probably that the others (I. 1, 2, II. 1, III. 1b, 4, IV. 1-7, V. 2-3) are to be considered Fletcher's. He admits, somewhat hesitatingly, a third hand, to whom he concedes I. 3, II. 2-7, III. 1a (to "will ripen"), 3, and V. 1 to "Exeunt Wife and Daugh-

ter." As he considers III. 5 and IV. 8 "unworthy of Massinger," he probably means them also to be taken as Fletcher's; but elsewhere he declares the latter scene to be Massinger's. He endorses Bullen's view that Massinger wrote III. 2, 6, IV. 8 and V. 1 (from "Exeunt Wife and Daughter"). Miss Frijlinck's division is identical with mine, even to her thinking that III. 3 is doubtful and may perhaps be an interpolation by a third hand. (She credits me, by the way, with declaring it to be by neither Fletcher nor Massinger; but I was not quite so definite.) Mr. G. C. Moore Smith applied one or two ordinary tests, which confirmed this division, and directs attention to vocabulary testimony pointing in the same direction. Finally, Mr. Dugdale Sykes, regarding III. 6 as "chiefly by Fletcher" and IV. 7 as "mainly, if not wholly," by Massinger, differs from me only in classing III. 3 with the former, and V. 1 with the latter.

*Barnavelt* has evidently undergone some alteration, though probably nothing of consequence. The final dialogue in I. 1 is not like Massinger, but is presumably his. As the attribution of this play to Fletcher and Massinger rests entirely on the internal evidence, I may direct attention to a slight proof that has to the best of my belief never been pointed out. In II. 2 there enter four unnamed Dutchwomen. Among the Elizabethan dramatists Fletcher seems to have had an almost unique fondness for unnamed quartets. Thus, in *Cupid's Revenge* (IV. 3) he has four citizens; in *Thierry* (V. 1) four soldiers; in *The Spanish Curate* (III. 2) four parishioners; and in *The Pilgrim* four beggars and four peasants; nor are these by any means the only instances of this tendency. The introduction of these four un-

named women may then be taken as in some slight degree confirmatory of Fletcher's authorship. As Fletcher wrote little prose, it is worth while to point out that he begins V. 2 with it.

### 26. *The Custom of the Country.*

First printed in the folio of 1647, this comedy was acted by the same men as are named as the performers in *Women Pleased* and *The Little French Lawyer*. It was therefore a King's men's play, and indeed the company presented it at Court in November, 1628. Its first production cannot have been later than 1623, since Egglestone and Tooley were among the actors, while the absence of the names of Condell and Field is against a date prior to 1619. As it does not figure in Herbert's Office-book, the period is further narrowed to 1619-22, though Lawrence dates it 1623. It is founded on Cervantes' "Persiles y Sigismunda" (1616), of which a French translation appeared two years later, and an English translation was entered in the Stationers' Register on February 22, 1618-9. As Massinger, one of the authors, was writing for the Red Bull in October, 1620, we are not likely to be far out if we date it earlier in that year. The prologue ascribes it to more than one author; and, with two exceptions, no critic doubts that it is the work of Fletcher and Massinger. These two exceptions are Ward, who is sure of Fletcher, but not sure of another author, and Cruickshank, who thinks that "if Massinger had any share in this play, he may have given hints or added touches in connection with Hippolyta and Duarte. The simplest supposition is that he edited the play for a revival." Wells, on the con-

trary, thinks it was originally by Fletcher and Massinger, but "has been subjected to a subsequent revision by Massinger."

My division is:

Fl—I, III. 1-3, IV. 3-5, V. 5b
M—II, III. 4-5, IV. 1-2, V. 1-5a, c

The only change from my former assignment is in the final scene, which I formerly gave wholly to Fletcher. I now regard the opening and closing portions of the scene (the first six speeches, and from "*Man.* Now 'tis a wedding again") as Massinger's. There are certain Fletcherian characteristics in the first seven speeches and the closing lines of II. 3; but I still give that scene to Massinger; and so too I still concede Massinger the whole of III. 5, though it is only the final dialogue that is really like him. I once thought there might be a few lines of Fletcher's in V. 1; but I think the suspicion was unwarranted. Massinger penned the original prologue, and perhaps the epilogue. Others were substituted for a revival. It may be mentioned that in Act IV I begin a new scene at "Enter Rutilio with a night-cap." My allotment was identical with Boyle's before I altered my view regarding the last scene. Macaulay agrees in giving part of V. 5 to Massinger, and coincides in regard to the other scenes. The work was very evenly apportioned between the two writers, Fletcher opening and doing most of the closing of the play, and writing the scenes in the male stews, while Massinger took the Duarte scenes, and the rest of the play was divided between them.

There are a few parallels in the play that all accord

with the allotment made. "To-morrow's a new day" (IV. 4) occurs also in a Fletcher scene of *The Night-walker* (II. 3). "Du cat a whee" (I. 2) occurs also in *The Night-walker* as well as in the Fletcherian *Monsieur Thomas;* and the line

> "Virtue is never wounded, but I suffer" (I. 1),

recalls a passage in *Philaster,*

> "When any falls from virtue, I'm distracted:
> I have an interest in it."

So too "at your devotion" (II. 2) is paralleled by "at his devotion" (*The Double Marriage,* I. 1, and *Love's Cure,* I. 1, both Massinger scenes); and a rather remarkable resemblance is that between

> "Joined again the scattered limbs
> Of torn Hippolytus" (II. 1)

and a line in Massinger's *Duke of Milan,* V. 2,

> "Joined the limbs of torn Hippolytus."

### 27. *The Double Marriage.*

This play, also first published in the folio of 1647, was acted by the King's men, the chief performers being Taylor, Benfield, Underwood, Birch, Lowin, Robinson, Tooley, and Sharpe. Taylor's presence implies a date of not earlier than 1619; and the play's absence from Herbert's Office-book, a date prior to May, 1622. Like all other critics, save Cruickshank (who thinks it contains no Massinger), I divide it between Fletcher and Massinger, my allotment being as follows:

M—I, III. 1b, 2b (nine speeches preceding Virolet's entry), IV. 1, 2, V. 3, 4

Fl—II, III. 1a (first seventeen speeches), 2a, c, 3, IV. 3, 4, V. 1, 2

The alterations in my allotment are trivial. I no longer see any overwriting of Fletcher in the opening part of III. 1, the opening and closing parts of III. 2, the opening part of III. 3, or the opening part of V. 1; and the final dialogue of IV. 3 and the commencement of V. 2 I award to Fletcher instead of to Massinger. One may note that Ferrand's first speech in V. 3 is very Fletcherian; but I still regard that scene as Massinger's. In Act V, I begin a new scene with the bringing in of Ferrand's head.

Though, as will be noted, I have abandoned the idea that Massinger is to be seen overwriting much of Fletcher's work, I still think that he revised the play. My original view that this was to be regarded not "as a joint work of Fletcher and Massinger's, but as one originally by Fletcher, altered after his death by Massinger," was followed later by Fleay, and has been adopted by Chelli; but I am not quite so sure now that Massinger was not concerned in the original version. I note too that Mr. William Wells, who wrote me, "I agree with your surmise that Massinger did not participate in the first version of this play," in a later communication seems to see Massinger in both writings.

Boyle differs in giving to Fletcher I. 2 and IV. 1 and to Massinger the whole of III. 1. Bullen only goes so far as to accord Massinger I. 1, and (?) some scenes in IV and V. Macaulay gives Massinger I, III. 1, IV. 1, 2, V. 2, 3; and Fletcher the other scenes. That Fletcher's hand is to be perceived in III. 1 should be evident from the following:

> "To be made
> The common butt for every slave to shoot at!

No rest, no peace I take, but their alarums
Beat at my heart! Why do I live, or seek then
To add a day more to these glorious troubles?
Or to what end, when all I can arrive at
Is but the summing up of fears and sorrows?
What power has my command, when from my bosom
Ascanio, my most dear and loved Ascanio,
Was snatch'd, 'spite of my will, 'spite of my succour,
And by mine own proud slave retain'd most miserable?
And still that villain lives to nip my pleasures,
It being not within my power to reach him";

and that Massinger's hand may be found in the other scenes the following may serve to show:

"*Cast.* Oh, majesty! let others think of Heaven,
While I contemplate thee.
*Vil.* This is not atheism,
But court observance.
*Cast.* Now the god appears,
Usher'd with earthquakes.
*Vil.* Base idolatry!"

(I. 2.)

"Thou wonder of thy sex, and of this nation!
Thou hast changed my severity to mercy,
Not to thyself alone, but to thy people,
In which I do include these men, my enemies.
Unbind them.
*Pan.* This is strange.
*Ferr.* For your intent
Against my life, which you dare not deny,
I only ask one service.
*Cam.* Above hope!"

(I. 2.)

"All that are taken in assemblies,
Their houses and their wives, their wealths, are forfeit;
Their lives at your devotion."

(III. 2.)

"We would fall willing sacrifices.
*Duke.* To rise up
Most glorious mártyrs."

(IV. 1.)

"As you see me begin,
With all care imitate.
*Gun.* We are instructed."

(IV. 1.)

Note too (in I. 2) the weak and vapid "she does deride me," which is so characteristic of Massinger, and the description by Ferrand of his enemy, Virolet, as

"Virtuous and wise,
A lover of his freedom and his country's."

That is Massinger praising his hero, rather than the wicked tyrant speaking of his virtuous foe.

In "E. S." I quoted, from III. 3, as a Massinger passage,

"I'll speak it, though I burst;
And, though the air had ears and serv'd the tyrant,
Out it should go!"

and so it is in style; but there is nothing else in the scene to recall Massinger, so I concede it to Fletcher, as it is all too little to build on. The short Massinger insertion in III. 2 is characteristic of his revisory methods. The phrase "at your devotion" is paralleled in I. 1 and, as already pointed out, occurs also in *The Custom of the Country*.

In II. 1 we have "looking" used in the sense of "looking for," as twice in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, and as in III. 1 (a Fletcher scene) of *The Night-walker* also. The name Ascanio is found also in *Four Plays in One* (*The Triumph of Love*), *The Spanish*

*Curate*, and Massinger's *Bashful Lover*. In III. 3 one Rossana is mentioned. Was this a character in Fletcher's play, omitted by Massinger in revision?

### 28. *The Elder Brother.*

Entered to Waterson in the Stationers' Register in 1636-7, this comedy was printed in 1637 "for J. W. and J. B." as by Fletcher. Moseley, who brought out a "second edition, corrected and amended," in 1651,[1] attributed it to Beaumont and Fletcher; but a quarto of 1661 returned to the ascription to Fletcher alone. An edition of 1678, however, again associated Beaumont's name with Fletcher's. The play also exists in a MS. version (in the British Museum) which displays differences from the printed text. The quartos agree in describing it as acted by the King's men at the Blackfriars. All the evidence for Beaumont's connection with the play has been mentioned already; but there is much more for Fletcher. The old cataloguers give it to him; Hills speaks of him as having at least a share in it; and Waterson, in transferring it, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *Monsieur Thomas* to Moseley in October, 1646, described them all as "by Mr. Fflesher"; but of more importance than all these together is the claim of the prologue that it was a posthumous production of Fletcher's.[2] As, however, its name does not appear in Herbert's Office-book, we may conclude that it was

[1] It contains an additional speech of four words in IV. 4, and another of three in V. 2—both manifest interpolations.

[2] "You shall hear Fletcher in it, his true strain
And neat expressions. Living, he did gain
Your good opinions, but now, dead, commends
This orphan to the care of noble friends."

written many years before, probably for another company, and that the King's men, producing it after the author's death, were not unwilling that it should be thought a new play. That it was not licensed about the end of 1625 under another name seems to be shown by the fact that "The Elder Brother" appears to have been Fletcher's own title for it (see Acts II and III). I am still inclined to think that it was written by Fletcher about 1614[3] for the Lady Elizabeth's (for the Fletcher portions of the play seem to me to be in a comparatively early style), and that it was rewritten by Massinger for the King's. The epilogue, which seems to be by the same hand as the prologue and written presumably for the same occasion, distinguishes carefully between the "author" and the "poet";[4] the one is the contriver of the play, the writer of it in its original form; the other is the reviser of it, the regular playwright of the company. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt that there are two hands to be found in the play. Every one is agreed as to the identity of those two.

My division of the play is unaltered, standing thus:

M—I, V. 1a, c, 2
Fl—II-IV.
Fl and M—V. 1b (from Mir's. entry to And's.)

[3] This is also Lawrence's date for it.

[4] "'Tis not the hands or smiles or common way
Of approbation to a well-liked play
We only hope; but that you freely would
To th' author's memory so far unfold
And show your loves and liking to his wit,
Not in your praise but often seeing it,
That being the grand assurance that can give
The poet and the player means to live."

The prologue and epilogue are Massinger's. I date his work before November, 1633, for the reason that operates in the case of *Love's Cure*, which see.

Fleay considered the play Fletcher's, "prepared for the stage" by another, "probably Massinger." He afterwards declared the revision to be Massinger's "Orator, or The Noble Choice." Bullen thought it was "probably revised and completed by Massinger after Fletcher's death." Boyle's division differed from mine only in giving Massinger the whole of V. 1; while Fleay's varied only in giving the entire last act to Fletcher. Macaulay, adopting Boyle's division, declared that Massinger did not revise the play, but coöperated with Fletcher. Greg's much more reasonable view is that the work was left unfinished by Fletcher, and that it was completed by Massinger not much before 1637. His division differs from mine only in that he sees no Fletcher in V. 1 and that he does not concede to him the conclusion of the final scene from "*And.* And beware." Cruickshank considers that Massinger wrote the greater part of I and V, adding "I doubt if he wrote V. 2." Wells writes me, "I agree with the view that the play was originally entirely Fletcher's." This is also Chelli's opinion. Gayley considers Massinger's share fully as important as Fletcher's.

Greg has applied the "'em-them" test, and finds that in Massinger's part there are five of the former, twelve of the latter, the figures in the Fletcher part being twenty-five and nine respectively. This might seem significant were it not that in Massinger's *Maid of Honour* "them" occurs only thrice, and "'em" thirty times, thus contradicting these figures for that drama-

tist. The "you-ye" test suggested by M'Kerrow gives the following percentages: Massinger, "you," 89.5; "ye," 2.1; "y'," 8.4; Fletcher, 72.7; 17.3; 10. In *The Maid of Honour* "you" occurs 384 times, "y'," once, and "ye," not at all; while in *The Spanish Curate*, though there are 275 instances of the occurrence of "ye," only four of them are in Massinger's part. Greg points out that "W'ave made a fair hand on't" (I. 2) is a phrase which also occurs in *The Maid of Honour*, IV. 2; that "smock-vermin" (used for loose women in III. 2) occurs also in *The Maid of Honour* in a slightly different sense; and that "I much pity you" (I. 2) is paralleled in I. 1 of the same play ("I much thank you"), though I doubt if this construction is a peculiarity of Massinger's. There is, as I pointed out in "E. S.," a curious similarity between a passage in Fletcher's IV. 4 and one in III. 2 of Massinger's *Duke of Milan*. The former goes,

> "And had been quite shot through, 'tween wind and water,
> By a she-Dunkirk, and had sprung a leak, sir";

and the latter,

> "With a she-Dunkirk that was shot before
> Between wind and water; and he hath sprung a leak too."

It has been assumed that this was lifted into *The Elder Brother* by Massinger from his own play, which dates 1621 or 1622 (as Professor T. W. Baldwin has conclusively shown in his edition of it); but the passage has—in fact, both passages have—rather a Fletcherian than a Massingerian appearance and tone. It may be therefore that Massinger copied it into *The Duke of*

*Milan* from Fletcher. In this connection, it has to be borne in mind that Beaumont has, in *Philaster*,

> "The wench has shot him between wind and water,
> And, I hope, sprung a leak" (IV. 1)

### 29. *The False One.*

This admirable tragedy, which has never had justice done it, because it enters into competition with work of Shakespeare's, was printed in the folio of 1647, but was not entered in the Stationers' Register till June 29, 1660, a peculiarity which it shares with four other plays —*The Nice Valour*, *Wit at several Weapons*, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, and *Four Plays in One*—as well as the Masque. It is not in the King's men's list of 1641, but was undoubtedly a King's play, the chief actors in it being Lowin, Underwood, Benfield, Sharpe, Taylor, Tooley, Rice, and Birch. All that is to be said of the date of production is that it is later than *The Humorous Lieutenant*, in which Condell acted, and earlier than May, 1622, because it is not entered in Herbert's Office-book. It thus stands in the same line with *The Double Marriage*, *The Custom of the Country*, *The Little French Lawyer*, and what I hold to be a revised version of *Women Pleased*. Let us see if we can come a little nearer to the dating of these five plays.

From 1616 to 1619 Fletcher produced or helped to produce *Thierry and Theodoret* (probably a second version), *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Jeweller of Amsterdam*, and *Barnavelt*, and perhaps also a version of *The Laws of Candy*

which has not come down to us and the first version of *A Very Woman*. From 1619 to 1622 he was turning out plays either alone or in collaboration with others at the rate of four a year. We know of three plays that may be allotted to 1621 (*The Pilgrim*, what was probably a revised version of *The Wild-goose Chase*, and *The Island Princess*), and four (a version of *Beggars' Bush*, *The Prophetess*, *The Sea-voyage*, and *The Spanish Curate*) that appeared in 1622. In 1623, he shows signs of slackening off, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Devil of Dowgate*, and *The Wandering Lovers* being, so far as we know, his only contributions that year. In 1624 the slackening becomes more marked, *A Wife for a Month* and *Rule a Wife* alone standing to his credit. For aught we know to the contrary, he did nothing from October, 1624, when *Rule a Wife* was produced, till his death in August, 1625. I am not aware that the suggestion has ever been made, but I think it not at all unlikely that *Rule a Wife* marked the end of his dramatic career. If so, he completed it worthily.

If, then, Fletcher was turning out four plays a year, and we find him probably fully occupied in 1619 and all but fully occupied in 1621, the five plays I am now considering, dating, as they do, not earlier than 1619 and not later than May, 1622, must, it seems to me, belong to the years 1620 and 1621, four of them to the former, and one to the latter. Massinger late in the year 1620 was engaged on *The Virgin Martyr* for the Red Bull company, and was, I take it, away from King's during the whole of 1621, since Fletcher then worked alone. I therefore date *The Double Marriage*, *The False One*, *The Custom of the Country*, and *The Little*

*French Lawyer*, 1620, and *Women Pleased*, 1621. Lawrence agrees with me as to only the first-named two.

There need be no doubt about the presence of more than a single writer in *The False One*, since both the prologue and the epilogue assign it to more than one author. Rogers and Ley's catalogue credits the play to Beaumont; and the Stationers' Register entry of 1660, to Beaumont and Fletcher; but all critics are agreed that Fletcher's partner was Massinger, even Ward, who at first declared for Fletcher and Rowley, coming later to admit Massinger's presence. Like Fleay, Boyle, Bullen, and Macaulay, I award Massinger (who is responsible also for the prologue and epilogue) the first and last acts, giving Fletcher the other three. My allotment is thus unchanged. Cruickshank alone dissents, giving Massinger I and "a good deal of" IV and V, and declaring that "there is hardly a scene, except the masque in III. 4, which reads like Fletcher's unaided work." But, despite the almost complete unanimity of the critics, there is one argument to be brought against their finding: More gives figures for the use of "you" and "ye," showing that in the first act "you" scores 55, and "ye" nothing at all; in II, the numbers are 61 to 3; and, in V, 30 to 1; while III has 34 to 36; and IV, 47 to 45. By this test, then, II should go to Massinger instead of to Fletcher. It may be that he went through the entire act, altering Fletcher's "ye" to "you," for that Fletcher is present in II needs no demonstration.

The Fletcherian use of "decline" as equal to "lower" (as in *Valentinian* and *Rule a Wife*) is found in II. 1; and Crawford pointed out a parallel between a passage in V. 4—

"And, as inspired by him, his following friends,
With such a confidence as young eaglets prey
Under the large wing of their fiercer dam,
Brake through our troops"—

and one in Massinger's *Picture*—

"My soldiers, like young eaglets preying under
The wings of their fierce dams, as if from him
They took both spirit and fire, came bravely on."

Both passages are, as Mr. Crawford showed, indebted to Sidney's "Arcadia" ("Borrowing some of his spirit, they went like young eagles to the prey under the wings of their dams").

### 30. *The Little French Lawyer.*

That this comedy was produced by the King's men in or about 1620[1] admits of no doubt. It was presented by the same men as played in *The Custom of the Country* and *Women Pleased*. The critics agree that it followed the former and preceded the latter. It is in the King's list of 1641. There is no external evidence as to its authorship, save that Archer's catalogue attributes it to Beaumont and Fletcher; but the critics are unanimous in awarding it to Fletcher and Massinger. That it is a joint work is shown by both the prologue and the epilogue, which I give, as before, to Massinger. My division of the play is unaltered, as follows:

M—I, III. 1, 3, IV. 5, 6a, 7a (to Dinant's entry), V. 1b, 3
Fl—II, III. 2, 4,[2] IV. 1-4, 6b (from La Writ's entry), 7b, V. 1a (to Charlotte's entry), 2

[1] Lawrence dates it 1619.
[2] I now reckon Dyce's III. 4 and 5 as one scene.

Some of I. 1 is mildly Fletcherian in manner; but I still regard it as Massinger's. My only difference with Fleay is in regard to the opening portion of V. 3, which he considers Fletcher's. With Boyle I am at variance in that he gives III. 3, IV. 5, and the whole of IV. 6 to Fletcher. Bullen sees Massinger's hand in I and occasionally in III and V. Gayley thinks Massinger's contribution fully as important as Fletcher's. Rosenbach, I understand, sees Beaumont's hand. I can discover no indication of him. Cruickshank declares that "Massinger can be traced at the beginning of I. 1 and in III. 1 and IV. 5," and then commits himself to the extraordinary view that "The resemblances are rather slight, and it is possible that they are due to the fact that Fletcher occasionally imitated Massinger." Elsewhere he says that Massinger revised the play for subsequent performance. Macaulay gives Massinger I, III. 1, and V. 1b; and Fletcher, II, III. 2, 3, IV, V. 1a, 2, 3.

Close resemblances to I. 5 and IV. 2 of *The Parliament of Love* are to be seen in I. 1 and II. 1, a fact which tells somewhat against the attribution of these two scenes to two several authors. It may also be not without significance that the names of Cleremont, Dinant, Lamira, and Beaupré are given to characters in Massinger's play as well as to persons in this play. Cleremont occurs again in *Philaster* and *The Noble Gentleman*, and Lamira in *The Honest Man's Fortune;* while, as Mr. Cyril Brett has pointed out, there is a Charlotte in the last-named play, as here, and a Verdone in *The Bloody Brother.*

Fletcher uses "basta" in IV. 1 as in *The Mad Lover* and *Rule a Wife;* but the expression is not uncommon.

I may point out a singular fact regarding IV. 5. Massinger begins the scene with eight persons on the stage; and by the time the eighth speech is finished they have all spoken. Some dramatists seem anxious to have every one on the stage speak as soon as possible; but I know no other instance quite equal to this.

The closing couplet is almost duplicated in the closing couplet of *The Sea-voyage*, also by Massinger.

### 31. *The Lover's Progress.*

This capital play is an illustration of the fact that the text is not necessarily that which was presented by the actors who are listed as having performed in it. These are in this case Taylor, Benfield, Pollard, Birch, Lowin, Underwood, Sharpe, and Thompson, showing that it was a King's men's play[1] of about the end of 1623 or the beginning of 1624, after the death of Tooley in 1623 and prior to the death of Underwood in 1624, the absence of Egglestone's name and the presence of Sharpe's telling the same tale. If, however, the play had been first produced then, it would appear in Herbert's Office-book, whereas nothing of this name does. But on December 6, 1623, a play of Fletcher's was licensed for the King's; and, as this play bore the similar and altogether appropriate title of "The Wandering Lovers," it is hardly to be doubted that it was the original version of the play which has come down to us as *The Lover's Progress*, especially as the prologue and epilogue expressly declare it to be an alteration of Fletcher by another dramatist.

[1] It is also in the company's list of 1641.

There would probably be no doubt of this at all had the question not been needlessly confused by Moseley's entry in the Stationers' Register on September 9, 1653, of a play called "The Wandering Lovers, or The Painter," which he attributed to Massinger. Attempts have been made to identify this with *The Lover's Progress*, despite the fact that the latter contains no painter. (Fleay's reference to a speech of Alcidon's in IV. 4 gets us nowhere.) As I have already stated, under the heading "False Attributions," Moseley's purpose was to enter two plays for a single fee so that *The Painter* is not to be regarded as identical with *The Wandering Lovers*. The latter is hardly likely to have been the same as *The Lover's Progress*, already published in the first Beaumont and Fletcher folio; but it may have been Fletcher's original version, as, indeed, the name would seem to imply.

The supposition that Massinger's play, though only a recast, would have been licensed is responsible for the attempt to identify *The Lover's Progress* with a tragedy of Massinger's entitled "Cleander," licensed May 7, 1634, and acted the same month at Blackfriars. For no better reason than that a Cleander is prominent in this play, Fleay and Bullen identify the play of that name with both it and *The Wandering Lovers*. Dyce much more sagaciously pointed out that "The Tragedy of Cleander" doubtless treated of the Cleander who was an officer of Alexander the Great and who was put to death for offering violence to a noble virgin. Moreover, *The Lover's Progress* can scarcely be called a tragedy, although Cleander is killed in Act IV. In all probability, Massinger's revision of Fletcher's work was

never licensed, not being regarded as a new play. Beyond Moseley's entry of *The Wandering Lovers* as Massinger's, there is nothing to connect that dramatist with this play, which Archer's catalogue gives to Beaumont and Fletcher.

There can, nevertheless, be no question of Massinger's being the revising poet. All critics are agreed upon that, the only one to express any doubt on the subject being Schelling, who awards the play to Fletcher and Massinger ("or perhaps Shirley"). Lawrence says of Massinger, "Either he revised *The Lover's Progress* or that play is to be identified with *The Wandering Lovers* of 1623, in which case he was a collaborator," whereas I am convinced that the two plays are identifiable, but that Fletcher and Massinger did *not* collaborate. A later note by the same scholar says: "In the prologue the play is spoken of as an old play of Fletcher's. Massinger might have been the reviser; but there are distinct traces of a third hand in the play—a hand inferior to Massinger's. Note the bloodless, pedestrian writing in IV. 3. This bears a remarkable resemblance to Shirley's worst manner, the stiff, scrappy manner of *The Coronation* (1635). It looks to me as if Fletcher and Massinger had collaborated on the play and Shirley had revised it; but I have no strong convictions upon the point." As the play was certainly acted in 1634, when Mildmay saw it performed (he calls it "Lysander and Calista," and describes it as a new play, any revised play under a new title being esteemed new), Shirley is not to be considered, since he was not at that time a King's company's poet.

The prologue tells us plainly that, originally ("long

since") written by Fletcher, the play is put forward, on a revival after the author's death, by another writer, who has made a new thing of it, though retaining some of Fletcher's work. This prologue is clearly Massinger's; and the epilogue, too (which also refers to Fletcher's original authorship), is almost certainly his, though not very characteristic. I divide the scenes between the two authors thus:

M—I. 1a, 2a (to Calista's reëntry), II. 1a, 2, (?) 3a (15 speeches), 4a (4 speeches), III. 1-2, 3b (3 speeches), 4, 6b (from "Out of my house"), IV. 1-4a, c, e, V.

Fl—I. 1b (final speech), 2b (containing a little M), II. 1b (from Clarange's entry), 3b, 4b, III. 3c, 5, 6a, IV. 4b (from "Because I find enough" to "*Lis.* Heavenly ones"), d (from "He did desire" to "thus nobly").

Fl and M—III. 3a (six speeches), d (from Malfort's entry).

The alterations made are trifling. I formerly thought Massinger responsible for the half-dozen speeches in I. 2b succeeding Malfort's reëntry. They are probably his; but I am not sure. On the other hand, I look upon the two speeches following Jasper's entry—

"*Clean.* What should this wonder be?
*Cal.* I am amaz'd at it"—

as a characteristic insertion by Massinger, who had an eye for the obvious. I did not see his hand in II. 3 and 4, but saw it, with Fletcher's, in II. 1b. In III. 5 I fancied I saw Massinger's hand with Fletcher's from the Ghost's entry, and that the last half-dozen speeches were solely his; and I gave to him the whole of IV. Of III. 3 I awarded him the first speech, which may be the work of either, and credited him with all following Lysander's exit. Put thus, these seem like tremendous

changes: in reality, they are very slight. It is not, however, an easy play to deal with, though the Fletcher verse is at times very characteristic. One cannot be sure that there is not frequent overwriting in passages where one is loth to drag in a second writer. Thus in I. 2a we have a very Fletcherian line,

> "The warmer still the fitter. You are a fool, lady,"

besides having a line with a triple ending, and another with a quadruple ending. If any one regard these as proofs of an underlying Fletcher basis in that portion of the scene, I am certainly not going to assert dogmatically that such a view is unwarranted. I may point out that it is against my division that we have the Beaumontesque "I am a kind of nothing" in the Massinger part of I. 1 and "A kind of noble pity" in the Fletcher part of III. 3. It may be noted that Fletcher uses the phrase "You are nobly welcome" in both I. 2b and II. 1b. "Sacred Beauty" in III. 3a may be collated with "your sacred hand" in V. 3. "Sailing cedar," which occurs in I. 1, is found also in *Valentinian*, though I did not discover the fact till after I had separated the speech containing it from the rest of the scene and allotted it to Fletcher. It may perhaps be worth mentioning that the name of one of the characters, Malfort, occurs also in Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*, and that of another, Calista, in his *Parliament of Love*.

Fleay says the authors "cannot be distinguished by scenes," but considers the hand of Massinger apparent in III. 1 and IV. 2, and that of Fletcher, in I. 2, III. 2, etc. Boyle gives Massinger all I. 1, 2 (to line 110), and the last two speeches in III. 6; and Fletcher, II. 1,

III. 1-3, 5. Macaulay holds that IV and V are almost entirely Massinger's, and that mixed work, resulting from revision, occurs frequently. Ristine considers it "obviously more Massinger's than Fletcher's." Cruickshank sees traces of Massinger in III. 4, 6, IV. 2, 4, V. 1, 3, and attributes to him I. 1 and II. 2. He declares it to be "clear from the prologue that the original play was too long. Massinger probably cut it down by leaving out, among other things, scenes in which Lisander killed his two foes."

Characteristic bits of Massinger occurring in scenes Boyle has given to Fletcher are the following:

"Leave your vanities.
With this purse (which delivered,
You may spare your oratory), convey this letter to
Calista's woman."

(II. 1.)

"*Leon.* They will hear shortly that
Will turn their mirth to mourning: he was then
The principal means to save two lives; but, since,
There are two fall'n, and by his single hand,
For which his life must answer, if the king,
Whose arm is long, can reach him.
*Clar.* We have now
No spare time to hear stories."

(III. 1.)

"*Cal.* You are truly valiant: would it not afflict you,
To have the horrid name of 'coward' touch you?
Such is the 'whore' to me.
*Lis.* I nobly thank you.
And may I be the same when I dishonour you.
This I may do again. [*Kissing her hand.*
*Cal.* You may, and worthily:
Such comforts maids may grant with modesty."

(III. 3.)

"*Cle.* Lock all the doors fast.
*Mal.* Though they all stood open,
My name writ on the door, they dare not enter."
(III. 3.)

and in III. 2 the stupid coarseness of Lancelot's buffoonery proclaims itself Massinger's.

### 32. *The Prophetess.*

Licensed May 14, 1622, and revived in July, 1629, by the King's men for Herbert's benefit, this play was originally acted by Lowin, Benfield, Shanck, Sharpe, Taylor, Tooley, Birch, and Holcombe. It appears in the King's list of 1641.

I still ascribe it to Fletcher and Massinger, the only alteration I make in my assignment being in regard to one of the choruses (which previously I treated as scenes), the latter part of the chorus ushering in the fourth act seeming to me now to have been partly rewritten by Massinger. That the play was founded on one by a sixteenth-century dramatist I do not doubt; but none of his work was retained outside the choruses, Massinger rewriting the opening portion of the first, partly rewriting, as I have said, the latter portion, and leaving the second chorus as it stood. My division of the acting portion of the play stands, as before:

Fl—I, III, V. 2-3
M—II, IV, V. 1

Investigators are in entire agreement as to the presence of both Fletcher and Massinger. Fleay thought it was altered by them from the old play, *Dioclesian*, and told me (though I fancy the view was not published)

that he considered both choruses to be Dekker's. Boyle's division was the same as mine, except in regard to the choruses, which he considered Massinger's. Macaulay followed suit. Baldwin agrees, save as to IV. 3 and 5, which he gives to Fletcher. Cruickshank allots to Fletcher I. 1, 2, and the Geta scenes (I. 3, III. 2, IV. 2, 4, V. 2), and adds: "Perhaps some hack wrote the choruses; or are they inherited from an old play? The main part of the play is due to Massinger. He certainly had a hand in III. 1." The choice between the inheritance of the choruses from an old play and the writing of them by a hack for a production as late as 1622 should not be a very hard one to make.

Fletcher's verse in this play is exceedingly characteristic of him. Geta in the final scene is very Massinger-like; but the scene is Fletcher's. In III. 1 there is a sure sign of abbreviation or revision, the third and fourth suitors (there are the usual Fletcherian four) speaking before the second.

### 33. *The Sea-voyage.*

Why this excellent comedy attracts so little notice or gets so little praise I do not understand. Entered in the Stationers' Register September 4, 1646, it was first printed in the folio of the next year. Though the King's list of 1641 seems intended to include all of the company's repertoire not already in print, it does not figure there; yet it was unquestionably a King's play, since it was acted at the Globe by Taylor, Egglestone, Tooley, Lowin, and Underwood. Its date of licensing was June 22, 1622. Archer's catalogue gives the play to Beaumont and Fletcher; but all investigators are,

with the exception of Cruickshank and the doubtful exception of Macaulay, agreed that it is the work of Fletcher and Massinger. My own allotment is:

Fl—I, III. 1a (to Rosellia's entry), IV, V. 1b (the speech during which Tibalt enters)
M—II. 1, 2a (to Albert's entry), b (with perhaps a substratum of Fl), III. 1b, V. 1a, c, 2, 3

I no longer follow Dyce in starting a new scene in V at the close of the fifth speech, as I do not think Crocale was intended to leave the stage. The changes from my "E. S." division are trifling. I formerly saw mixed work in II. 2b, in that part of III. 1 lying between Rosellia's entry and "*Exeunt all except the women*" (wrongly given in "E. S." as Rosellia's exit), and Dyce's V. 2. I now give these all to Massinger, with the exception of one speech in V, while professing myself doubtful whether there may not be some Fletcher in II. 2.

The difficulty in dealing with this play arises from the corruptness of the text. It is often so botched as to make it doubtful whether Massinger's work was done in collaboration with Fletcher or later. Act III is at fault in places; and in IV. 1 Massinger's verse has been more or less spoiled; but no other act has suffered as has II, especially that part of the second scene concerning which I am still doubtful. I am sure that the version that has come down to us was not taken from the authors' manuscript; but also there are many signs of abridgment. Thus the mate referred to by Lamure in I. 3 must originally have been one of the *dramatis personæ;* in V. 1 the order to Tibalt to stay has been omitted, unless we are to suppose that it was given only

by sign; and there are at various times many mute characters on the stage. The boatswain must be present in I. 3, but is not mentioned. In V. 2 Sebastian says to the men that they saved his and Nicusa's lives when they were nearly starved at sea; but this statement is not in accord with the facts of the play. It is noteworthy, too, that in the final scene Lamure, Franville, Morillat, the Master, and others do not appear. It may be remarked, too, that Massinger does not usually prefer "ye" to "you," as he seems to do here—another circumstance telling in favor of the theory that our version is not based on the authors' manuscript.

Fleay supposed it rewritten for theatrical purposes, and ascribed it to Fletcher and another, who might be Massinger. He found it impossible to separate the work of the two authors. Boyle gave Massinger II, III. 1b, and V; and Fletcher, the rest. Macaulay is very uncertain. He thinks that considerable portions of I and IV are by Fletcher, but that no scene can be attributed wholly to him. He doubts whether Massinger had any hand in it. Cruickshank considers the meter "too rough" for Massinger, adding, "The plot does not recall his work in any way." As the dramatists of the time took their plots wherever they found them, this argument does not strike one as very valuable. Sykes' allotment is very like my own, since he gives Fletcher I, III. 1a, and IV; and Massinger, the rest. He looks on Fletcher as the original author, and Massinger as the reviser (as I am inclined to do), and sees slight traces of Massinger's revision in I. 1, 3, IV. 2, 3, and traces of Fletcher in V. 1. Wells' opinion was thus expressed: "There is a lot of both Fletcher and Massinger in this

play; but there are also large blocks of matter that seem more in the style of Beaumont, Field, or Ford," and, in a later communication, he tells me that he regards it as originally by Fletcher, altered by Massinger, with "suspicion of a third hand." Chelli looks on it as originally by Fletcher alone.

A few odds and ends may be noted. Confirmation of the allotment of I. 3 to Fletcher is to be found in the expression, "What a veal voice!" since in *The Mad Lover*, II. 2, we have "vociferating veal." The name of the leader of the Amazons is given variously as Rosella, Rosellia, Rossilla, Rosilla, and Rossillia. I erred in stating in "E. S." that Massinger never accented "Tibalt" on the second syllable, or "Albert" on the first, as Fletcher did. "Tibalt" is, I think, always accented on the first; but, while Massinger invariably pronounced "Albert" in the French way, Fletcher used the French and English methods indifferently. I find "ye" used objectively eighty-eight times by Fletcher, and twelve times by Massinger, besides eight instances that occur in the Massinger scene-section in which I suspect a Fletcher substratum. It may be worth while to direct attention to the construction, "See what a clap of thunder there is!" in I. 1, and to "What a wretched day has here been!" in I. 2. (In *Cupid's Revenge*, IV. 5, we have "What a stir here is!" apparently by Field.) Massinger parallels his "Till now I ne'er was wretched" (II. 1) in III ("Till now I never was happy"). It may be noted finally that the first and second sailors of IV. 1 are not those of the earlier scenes.

### 34. *The Spanish Curate.*

Founded on "Gerardo," a translation from the Spanish, published in 1622 (it was entered in the Stationers' Register March 11, 1621-2), this comedy was licensed on the twenty-fourth of October of that year. Its date is therefore hardly to be questioned. On St. Stephen's Day it was acted at Court by the King's men, the chief actors being Taylor, Lowin, Tooley, Egglestone, Pollard, and Benfield. Archer's catalogue gives it to Beaumont and Fletcher; but all critics are agreed in regarding it as by Fletcher and Massinger. My division of it, which is unchanged, is as follows:

M—I, III. 3, IV. 1, 4, V. 1, 3
Fl—II, III. 1, 2, 4, IV. 2, 3, 5-7, V. 2

Fletcher also wrote the prologue; and Massinger, the epilogue. This is the same as Boyle's division, and differs from Fleay's only in that that investigator gives Massinger the prologue. The only scene as to which Macaulay differs is IV. 2, which he considers Massinger's. Cruickshank thinks that Massinger can be clearly traced in I. 1 and V. 1, but not in V. 3. He also thinks the trial scene (III. 3) may be his. Baldwin agrees with the majority, "except for a very few lines." He points out that Fletcher took the Lopez and Leandro stories, while Massinger dealt with the stories of Henrique and Ascanio. Lawrence regards Massinger as a reviser.

### 35. *A Very Woman.*

This admirable tragi-comedy does not appear in either Beaumont and Fletcher folio, but was published in 1655 by Moseley as Massinger's, with a prologue stating it

to be a revision or alteration (made "by command") of an old play. Prior to the revolutionary (and constructive) work of Fleay it was always thought that Massinger had merely altered one of his own plays; but all modern critics (with the exception of Swinburne, who considered it wholly Massinger's) regard it as an alteration from Fletcher. The play was licensed June 6, 1634. What the original play was is unknown, and it cannot be said that any of the numerous suggestions made can be considered satisfactory. Moseley's entry of it in the Stationers' Register September 9, 1653, gives it the alternative title "The Woman's Plot"; but when it was published it was with the sub-title "The Prince of Tarent." The "Woman's Plot" title was necessarily dropped, since the play contains no such plot. This is merely another instance of Moseley's economic trick for getting two plays licensed for the price of one. A *Woman's Plot* was acted at Court by the King's men in 1621-2, so that probably it was a play of 1621; and in Warburton's list appears a play of that name ascribed to Massinger. It probably was Massinger's[1] (which would account for Moseley's bracketing it with another Massinger play); but it cannot possibly have had anything to do with *A Very Woman*. *Cardenio* and Massinger's *Spanish Viceroy* have been suggested; but both of them were entered by Moseley on the same day as *A Very Woman;* and, when he was so bent on economizing, he was hardly likely to pay twice for entering differing versions of the one play. *The Spanish Viceroy,* which

[1] The usual ascription to Fletcher is entirely without warrant, and is due merely to the supposed connection of the play with *A Very Woman* and Fletcher's obvious participation in the latter.

was a play that had been acted in December, 1624, without license, was, in fact, entered by Moseley as being one with *The Honour of Women*. A similar objection applies to the identification of *A Very Woman* with *A Right Woman*, which was entered in the Register, as Beaumont and Fletcher's, after the publication of the Massinger play. Nor is it likely that Moseley would have thought of publishing the original version of the play after he had given to the world the revised version.

The alterations I make in my previous allotment of the scenes of this play are very slight; but they mean the discarding of my supposed third author, since I hold that the two brief passages in which I thought I saw him are too short to warrant the conclusion I reached, and because the part of IV. 2 where Paulo is disguised as a soldier is Massinger's, despite the rhyming. There are indeed in this scene many lines that do not look at all like Massinger; yet, not very confidently, I give it entirely to him. The only other change my latest examination of the play has induced me to make is the transference of the closing part of III. 3 from Fletcher to Massinger. My division is:

M—I-II. 3a (to Cucolo's exit), III. 3a, c, IV. 2, V
Fl—II. 3b, III. 1, 2, 3b (from Cardenio's entry to exit), 4, 5, IV. 1, 3[2]

[2] My "E. S." division was:
M—I-II. 2, III. 3a (to Cardenio's entry), IV. 2b, V
Fl—III. 1, 2, 3b-5, IV. 1, 3
3d author—IV. 2a
Fl, M, and 3d author—II. 3
But soon after the article was published I marked down this last-mentioned scene as I have it at present.

The prologue is obviously Massinger's, and there is not likely to be any objection taken to regarding the epilogue also as his. It is interesting to compare the prologue with that to *The Lover's Progress*, which was also a rewriting of a Fletcher play. It speaks of "This subject, long since acted," as the other does of "A story, and a known one, long since writ"; it proceeds, as does the other, to excuse the author for turning an old play into a new one; he assures us here that

> "By command
> He undertook this task, nor could it stand
> With his low fortune to refuse to do
> What by his patron he was call'd unto,"

and in the other boasts of

> "Demanding, and receiving too, the pay
> For a new poem."

There is one difference between them. In the *Very Woman* prologue he strikes a confident note:

> "We dare
> Maintain to any man that did allow
> 'Twas good before it is much bettered now"—

a little at variance perhaps with the

> "Becoming modesty
> (For in this kind he ne'er was bold)"

of which he has boasted a few lines previously. In the prologue to *The Lover's Progress*, on the contrary, he claims that he is

> "ambitious that it should be known
> What's good was Fletcher's, and what ill, his own."

The likeness of the two adds to the probability of Massinger's being the reviser of *The Lover's Progress*. In each case it is made clear that only one writer was engaged in the work of revision.

Fleay at first gave all II. 3 to Massinger; but his later view differs from mine only in giving Fletcher the whole of III. 3. This is the view also of Boyle and Baldwin. Cruickshank considers the careful treatment of Cardenes' melancholy by Paulo to be Massinger's. "The only scenes," he says, "which can be safely attributed to Fletcher are those [*sic*] of the slave-market (III. 1) and that where Leonora seeks to console Almira (III. 4)."

To show that there was some reason for my former inclination to see a third writer in the play and my lack of confidence even now in according to Massinger the early part of IV. 2, let me quote from that scene and ask any one who really knows Massinger if this reads like him:

"In way of youth, I did enjoy one friend,
As good and perfect as Heaven e'er made man.
This friend was plighted to a beauteous woman
(Nature proud of her workmanship). Mutual love
Possess'd them both, her heart in his breast lodged,
And his in hers.
*Car.* No more of love, good father:
It was my surfeit; and I loathe it now;
As men in fevers, meat they fell sick on.
*Paul.* Howe'er 'tis worth your hearing: this betroth'd lady
(The ties and duties of a friend forgotten),
Spurr'd on by lust, I treacherously pursued.
Contemn'd by her, and by my friend reproved,
Despised by honest men, my conscience sear'd up,
Love I converted into frantic rage;

And, by that false guide led, I summon'd him
In this bad cause, his sword 'gainst mine, to prove
If he or I might claim most right in love.
But fortune, that does seld or never give
Success to right and virtue, made him fall
Under my sword. Blood, blood, a friend's dear blood,
A virtuous friend's, shed by a villain, me,
In such a monstrous and unequal cause,
Lies on my conscience.
*Car.* What were the arts
That made thee live so long in rest?
*Paul.* Repentance
Hearty, that cleansed me; Reason then confirmed me:
I was forgiven, and took me to my beads."

The incidental rhyme, the awkwardness of construction, and the infrequency of double endings are not characteristic of either Fletcher or Massinger. I once thought the author might be Rowley and that his work was done in an intermediate revision about 1626. The style is certainly nearer to his than to that of any other dramatist whose connection with the play is at all probable.

In III. 1 there is a line that in the peculiarity of its construction and its vulgarity is typical of Fletcher:

"Sure he was got in a cheese-press: the whey runs out on's nose yet."

Such a line could hardly be found in any other writer.

Cucolo is a thorough Massinger fool. His

"Though you allow me wise (in modesty;
I will not say oraculous)"

is a good instance of the dramatist's habit of making his fools assert their wisdom in a ridiculously improbable way.

Lines in II. 3,

> "But so adorned as if she were to rival
> Nero's Poppæa or the Egyptian queen,"

find a counterpart in Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, II. 1:

> "She that lately
> Rivalled Poppæa in her varied shapes,
> Or the Egyptian queen."

Of the date of the original Fletcher play (which was probably called "The Prince of Tarent," since Fletcher would not be likely to name one play "A Right Woman," and another "A Very Woman"), all that can be said is that it was prior to the commencement of Herbert's Office-book. In view of the 1634 licensing, the chances are that it was written for another company than King's. Those who maintain that *The Noble Gentleman* and *The Fair Maid of the Inn* must have been new plays in 1625-6, because they were licensed then, should take note of *A Very Woman*, which was licensed, despite the fact that it was, admittedly, an alteration of an old play.

## *Plays Wholly by Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger.*

I HAVE but three plays under this heading; but some critics would have none; others, only one (*Thierry and Theodoret*); and scarcely any, more than two.

### 36. *Beggars' Bush.*

With the exception of Mr. William Wells, I have found no one to exhibit any inclination to agree with

me in regard to the authorship of this admirable comedy; yet a careful reconsideration of the work contained in it has not induced me to change my view, except in minor details.

Besides its publication in both folios, *Beggars' Bush* was also put forth in quarto, in 1661, by H. Robinson and Anne Moseley, with the prologue and epilogue attached in the folios to *The Captain*, and therefore probably, but not certainly, properly belonging to that play.[1] The first notice we have of *Beggars' Bush* is one of its production at Court by the King's men at Christmas, 1622. It is presumably the play entered in the King's men's list of 1641 as "The Beggars." The chief external evidence for its attribution to Beaumont and Fletcher (and that is not very valuable) is its quarto ascription to them. Of the old catalogues, that of Rogers and Ley accords it to Beaumont, and that of Archer, to Fletcher. Hills mentions it amongst the plays in which Fletcher was concerned. It is clear then that we have to rely entirely upon the internal evidence to decide the authorship. Its production at Court in 1622 may seem to imply (as it apparently does to Lawrence) its advent on the boards that year; but, if so, it must have been before the commencement of Herbert's Office-book in May. We may perhaps be justified in assuming that its presentation by King's in that year was its first staging by that company; but the absence of an actors' list argues strongly in favor of its original performance having been by some other company. If I be right in

[1] Occupying a separate leaf in the first folio between the two plays, they were probably taken as appertaining to the second one, *Beggars' Bush*.

believing it to have been originally by Beaumont and Fletcher, it must have been not later than 1610, about which time they joined King's; if I be wrong in seeing the presence of Beaumont, it still cannot date later than 1616, by which time Fletcher had certainly rejoined the company after his brief venture elsewhere. It is significant at least that the slang terms and knowledge of the manners of the beggars are taken from Dekker's "Bellman," which was published in 1608. It is perhaps significant also that, if my division be right, Fletcher does not employ the beggars' language at all.

Marcham, in his "King's Office of the Revels," referring to a manuscript of the play, bound with a manuscript copy of Middleton's *The Mayor of Quinborough*, says it is "written in a hand somewhat similar to the Bodleian MS. of Middleton's *Witch* (MS. Malone 12)," which is "in a formal hand" that "can quite possibly be Middleton's own hand." This goes some way to bear out my argument as to date; but I do not understand on what grounds Mr. Marcham arrives at the conclusion that *The Mayor of Quinborough* MS., with which he believes this to be contemporary, was written about 1620. He speaks elsewhere of that play as being "slightly varied at about 1615-1620," and thinks that, as the MS. gives an alternative title ("Hengist, King of Kent"), the new title was given it on that occasion, "Hengist" being Middleton's original one. As *The Wild-goose Chase* is mentioned in *The Mayor of Quinborough*, he argues that the former may not have been a new play in 1621. There is indeed no definite evidence that it was; but, as I see no reason against dating Middleton's play, as revised, 1621 or 1621-2, in-

stead of from 1615 to 1620, I see no real justification for assuming an earlier date than 1621 for Fletcher's play in its present form. If, as Mr. Marcham thinks, the manuscript copies of *The Mayor* and *Beggars' Bush* were of about the same date, we may most reasonably date the revision of the former and the King's men's production of the latter early in 1622.

Despite the manifest reluctance of critics to date the original production of *Beggars' Bush* earlier than 1622, there have been some admissions made of the probability of an early date for it. Macaulay speaks of it as "produced probably some time earlier." More importance may be attached to Fleay's view. At first he declared for a date of 1622; but, later, recognizing the significance of the absence of an actors' list, he pronounced in favor of an original performance by the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Hope about 1615, adding "The attribution of part-authorship to Beaumont in the 1661 quarto indicates, as usual with these mistaking late quartos, a date prior to Beaumont's death."

Fleay, Boyle, and Macaulay all divide the play between Fletcher and Massinger. Bullen seems to doubt Massinger's participation, and is of opinion that "the scenes in which the woodland life of the beggars is depicted are much in the manner of W. Rowley (or Rowley and Middleton)." Ward gives the play to Fletcher and Massinger; so does Chelli; and Gayley thinks Massinger's contribution fully as important as Fletcher's; while Cruickshank declares against Massinger altogether. More, by the "ye" test, finds no Fletcher, but thinks that possibly the text was revised by Massinger or some other. Wells allots it to Fletcher,

Massinger, and a third author, of whom there are traces in V, this being either Beaumont or Field. My own view is that the play is to be partitioned between Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger; and I allot the scenes as follows:

B—II. 1, 2a (first speech), 3a, c, 4, (?) IV. 6b (last speech), V. 1a (to Wolfort's entry), c (from Bertha's reëntry to Hubert's entry), e (last eighteen speeches), 2b

Fl—II. 2b, III, IV. 1-6a, V. 1b

M—I, II. 3b (from "*Gos.* Ha, Ha!" to "*Hem.* You now grow saucy"), V. 1d, 2a (eight speeches).

It must be noted that I previously treated the final dialogue of II as part of scene 3.

My alterations are very slight, and are confined to the last act. I formerly thought I saw Massinger as well as Beaumont in the opening portion of the first scene, and regarded the section from Wolfort's entry to Bertha's reëntry as "probably an insertion by" Massinger. In the second scene I took the Massinger portion as far as the entry of "Jaculin" (Jacqueline). I do not, however, feel very confident that I am right in making these changes. The crude humor of the cowardice of the Boor in V. 1 is very Massingerian in tone, but not at all in style. Similarly, it is quite likely that I may be wrong in bringing Fletcher into V. 1. The difficulty is, as one has already discovered in such early plays as *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Noble Gentleman*, and one or two others, to distinguish between Beaumont and Fletcher before their styles had markedly diverged. I previously held that originally the play was written by Beaumont alone, and that Fletcher's work was done in revision, with Massinger. I am now,

however, inclined to believe that Fletcher was also an original author, his work being of two periods. Early Fletcher is seen in II. 2, III. 4, and IV. 3, while the Fletcher of a later (middle) period is seen in III. 5 and IV. 1. The epilogue (in dialogue) may perhaps be his; II. 1 bears some resemblance to Jonson's work, but is not his. Massinger's insertions in II. 3 and V. 1 are very characteristic of his methods as reviser. The one is an argumentative passage; the object of the other is to afford a humorous break. I may point out that it is against the correctness of my attribution of II. 1 to Beaumont that it contains a parody of Cranmer's speech in the closing scene of *Henry VIII.* I admit it, but would also say that we cannot be certain that Beaumont wrote nothing after the middle of 1613, as is so generally assumed.

There are, throughout the play, many signs of its having been revised: Beaumont had only seven beggars; Fletcher and Massinger thought there were others. In II. 1, a reviser supplies the preliminary "*Enter* Higgen, Ferret, Prig, Clause, Jaculine, Snap, Ginks *and other beggars*" (probably because the writer of the scene had omitted the stage direction); but Beaumont, to whom all the text of the scene is due, puts into the mouth of Higgen, "We are seven of us." Originally Costin must have been the seventh, and not Jaculin, who says not a single word until she enters alone (without having left the stage!). In III. 4 (the second part of so-called III. 3), Fletcher has "*Enter* Higgen, Prigg, Ferret, Ginks, *and the rest of the Boors*" (this term not including Clause). In V. 1, Massinger has "*Enter* Hubert, Higgen, Prig, Ferret, Snap, Ginks, *like Boors*," the en-

trance of the last-named being an error, for Beaumont makes Hubert say, "I, and four boors here to me," and, in the next scene, we see clearly that Ginks was not one of the Boors. In V. 2, Costin, alluded to in V. 1 by Beaumont, appears for the first time, and then says nothing. After losing Hubert, Clause, Ginks, and Costin from their number, Higgen says, "Snap, Ferret, Prig, and Higgen all are left of the true blood." In IV. 4, Fletcher speaks of "all" the "old lords that rebell'd" as being with Gerrard, and again of Gerrard's "forces"; but all Beaumont's "old lords" are Ginks and Costin, the latter having been dropped altogether by Fletcher and Massinger. Again, where Beaumont introduces Vandunke, that worthy gentleman uses the catchword "sub rosa"; where Fletcher introduces him, he does not use it. As all these signs of alteration are in agreement with the division I made before considering them, they afford some confirmation of the correctness of my apportionment.

It may further be pointed out that the Captain Vannoke named in IV. 3 is referred to (unnamed) in I. 3 by Massinger, whence we may infer that the original play either had a similar reference or actually introduced the man. A proof of diversity of authorship, and perhaps of revision, is afforded by the difference between the characterization of the 2d and 3d Merchants in I. 3 and their characterization in IV. 1.

The length of the war mentioned in I. 1 is contradicted in II. 3; II. 1 occurs the day after I. 3, yet III. 2, which evidently takes place the same day, is six months later than I. 3; and in the Beaumont part of V. 1 Hemskirk says Hubert has told him Florez is a merchant and

Gerrard the old beggar, whereas in IV. 4, where Hubert's tale is told, he gives no such information.

The naming of the characters in the various editions is also a matter of interest. There is no list in the first folio; but, according to the *dramatis personæ* of the quarto, the beggars are Higgen, Ferret, Prig, Snap, and others, while "Lord Arnold" and "Lord Costin" are described as "two lords of Flanders disguis'd like beggars." The second folio describes Higgen, "Prigg," and "Snapp" as "three knavish beggars," and enters also Ferret and "Ginkes" as "two gentlemen disguised under those names, of Gerrard's party." This then reduces the number of beggars, and identifies Costin with Ferret, whom it removes from the ranks of the real beggars, where he rightly belongs. Herman is omitted from the quarto list, and so is Vanlock by name. The latter might be supposed to be included among the merchants; but his daughter Frances, who makes her single appearance with him, on the only occasion on which he enters, is also omitted. The second folio enters "four merchants" with "Vanloch"; but there are certainly more than that number, even apart from the additional one whom it brackets with Herman. It alone enters a "Clown," who is presumably the cowardly "Boor" of the stage directions of V. 1. The second folio gives the disguise name of Bertha but not that of Jaculin; and the quarto does so in neither case. The second folio list wrongly describes Gerrard as "father-in-law to Florez," the quarto's description as "father to Florez" being correct. In the first folio Florez, Gerrard, Bertha, and Jaculin are always called by their true names in the stage directions and sideheads, save that on the occasion

of his second entry (in II. 1) Gerrard is given his assumed name, Clause. Ginks, on the contrary, is always called Ginks, and it is not till the final scene that we learn that he is not one of the real beggars, but is Lord Arnold in disguise. Even then the stage direction gives his assumed name, while it gives the true names of Jaculin and Costin, who enter with him (the assumed name of the latter, it may be remarked, not being known to us). It looks as if Ginks was originally one of the beggars and was subsequently identified with one of the disguised lords for purposes of economy of cast. In the second folio, Florez is always "Goswin," and Bertha is always "Gertrude," prior to the last scene; but Jaculin always gets her true name, and Gerrard is similarly treated, except in II. 1 and IV. 5, where he gets his disguise name. Costin, where referred to for the first time (in V. 1), is called "Cozen" in the old texts, this being almost certainly a misprint for "Costin." It may also be mentioned that Ferret is mute in III. 1 as are Higgen and Prig in IV. 1; but these all have business. Ginks is mute in III. 4 and V. 1; and in the latter scene, as I have said, should not be present. Snap says nothing in IV. 5, V. 1, and V. 2; and Jaculin is mute, though named, in the final scene. Some of these things may indicate only a fitting of the play to requirements; but some, I venture to think, mean more than that.

Fleay at first gave I to Massinger, and all the rest to Fletcher; but later he transferred to Massinger II. 2-4, part of V. 1, and all of V. 2. Boyle assigned to Massinger I, II. 3, V. 1, 2a (to line 110). To me it seems that Vandunke is to be regarded as a thoroughly Beaumontesque character, and that this passage from V. 1, whether

Beaumont's or not, is at least very reminiscent of that writer:

"Oh, I am miserably lost, thus fall'n
Into my uncle's hands, from all my hopes!
No matter now whe'r thou be false or no,
Goswin; whether thou love another better,
Or me alone; or whe'r thou keep thy vow
And word, or that thou come, or stay; for I
To thee from henceforth must be ever absent,
And thou to me. No more shall we come near
To tell ourselves how bright each other's eyes were,
How soft our language, and how sweet our kisses,
While we made one our food, th' other our feast;
Nor mix our souls by sight or by a letter
Hereafter, but as small relation have
As two new gone to inhabiting a grave.
Can I not think away myself, and die?"[2]

(V. 1.)

In the second folio all this speech is omitted, with the exception of the first, second, and last lines, showing how Beaumont's work was curtailed in the revision.[3]

[2] Compare with this last line the following from *The Triumph of Love:*

"Here I'll sit,
And think myself away,"

though I do not now regard them as being from the one hand. I may mention that I have applied my usual eight verse-tests to what I regard as the Beaumont portion of the play, and that three of them point to him, while only two point to Field.

[3] There is surely something omitted, too, before Hubert's speech beginning, "If it be worth."

## 37. *The Coxcomb.*

This play, which was first printed in the folio of 1647, was acted at Court by the Queen's Revels Chil-

dren in October or November, 1612,[1] and by the King's men on March 5, 1621-2, and again on November 17, 1636. It is in the King's list of 1641. It therefore came into the hands of the King's company some time between 1612 and 1621-2. The actors' list—Field, Gary (*i.e.*, Cary), Benfield, Allen, Taylor, Reed, Atawell, and Barksted—was most certainly not that of a King's men's performance; but neither does it seem to indicate a Queen's Revels Children's staging. It is true that Field, Barksted, Cary, Atawell, and Allen all played in Jonson's *Silent Woman*, when the company produced it in 1609 (the other named members of the cast being Penn, Smith, and Blaney); but the remaining three are stumbling-blocks, especially Benfield, with whom we first come in contact in 1612-3, with the Lady Elizabeth's. The actors' list is therefore not likely to date before 1612. Taylor, Cary, and Barksted were all with Lady Elizabeth's in August, 1611, and so was Egglestone, who had left the company by 1612-3, but not earlier. As Barksted, Reade, Benfield, Taylor, and Field were all with that company then, and there is no reason to think that Cary, Allen, and Atawell were not still connected with it, it seems tolerably certain that the actors' list is one of the Lady Elizabeth's men; and the absence of Egglestone's name implies a date not earlier than 1612-3. Nor do I think it later than 1613, since Reade was with the Queen's men in that year—that is to say, later in the year. The play then went from the

[1] And also, according to Oldys, in 1613, the date not being a slip for 1612, since "1612" is marked out, and "1613" substituted. If correct, the performance cannot have been later than March, 1612-3, when the company was merged in the Lady Elizabeth's. That may be the reason for the alteration, Oldys merely applying the modern system of dating.

Queen's Revels Children to the Lady Elizabeth's (a perfectly natural proceeding, considering the relations established between the two companies about 1613), and thence to King's; but, though we may regard so much as settled, it leaves the question of the original date of production untouched.

A line in Jonson's *Alchemist*, IV. 7 ("A Don Quixote or a Knight of the Curious Coxcomb") is thought to refer to this play. If so, it cannot be later than 1610. It has also been held that it cannot be earlier than April 26, 1608, when was licensed the French translation of Cervantes' "Curious Impertinent" (from "Don Quixote"), which is supposed to have suggested the plot. This French translation may have reached England the same year; but whether it really influenced the plot is doubtful. The only definite date-allusion in the play itself is one to the fall of Ostend in 1604; but that does not help us very much. We shall, in any case, not be far wrong if we set the date at 1609. If Gayley be right in regarding it as one of the two plays referred to in the folio label to Beaumont's letter to Jonson (a suggestion, by the way, first made by Thorndike), the date will be rather earlier than later. Lawrence agrees with me in fixing on 1609.

As the prologue (spoken at a revival) refers to "the makers that confessed it for their own," it is reasonable to expect to find it a joint production. Rogers and Ley's catalogue gives it to Beaumont; and Archer's, to Fletcher, amongst whose works Hills also mentions it. All critics admit the presence of Beaumont and Fletcher; but there is no agreement as to whether the work is or is not confined to those two. My own view is that, origi-

nally by Beaumont and Fletcher, it has been revised, first by Fletcher, and afterwards by Massinger.

Let me first of all show reasons for believing there has been revision. The history of the play, the fact that the actors' list is not the original one, and the transference from company to company all point in that direction; and, moreover, the prologue spoken at a revival some time after Fletcher's death speaks of the play as having been shortened; and such curtailment could hardly have been achieved without alteration. Dyce thinks that this curtailment does not apply to the play as we have it; but the prologue is obviously Massinger's (as is the epilogue also); and equally obviously his hand is to be seen in the alterations. So long a time had elapsed before the revival at which the prologue was spoken that it tells us that the play was "long forgot, by some thought dead." That it was long subsequent to Fletcher's death may be inferred from the statement that "the authors that confessed it for their own were this way skilful and . . . did please the time." We have therefore one late revision (probably for the revival of 1636); but I believe that we have also remnants of an earlier one. The scene is laid in England, yet the names of the characters are all foreign, mostly Italian, indicating that the scene was originally—or, at least, in some early version—laid in Italy. That there has been an alteration of this character is shown by the words of the folio, "the scene, England, France"; and another complication is afforded by the title "Don" accorded to Antonio, which points to Spain as the scene of the play, though it may be only an indication of the source. There would seem then to have been three ver-

sions—one with the scene in either Italy or Spain, one with the scene in France, and one with the scene in England. Other proofs of revision are that in I. 2 Pedro serves no purpose, and Portia, whose name does not appear in the *dramatis personæ*, is mute on this, her only appearance. She was probably a character in the original play, omitted on revision. It may be noted too that Antonio is the name of the Justice's servant, as well as of the Coxcomb. Presumably the mute Rowland of V. 3 is the servant of II. 4.

I formerly credited the play to Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, and an unknown,[2] whom I was inclined to consider William Rowley. I now abandon the idea of the presence of a fourth author, whose characteristics I described as "weak endings, improper run-on lines, short lines, and Alexandrines, full pronunciations, the accentuation of syllables that should be light" (I instanced "aúburn," "sórely," "prófit"), "and the use of lines that won't scan." I pointed out, however, that this last characteristic might be due to the printer, and added, "The text throughout is so corrupt that one may be tempted to consider that the scenes where I suspect the presence of this author merely contain Fletcher's work

[2] My division was:
Fl—I. 2b, 3, 5, II. 1, 2a, c, 3, III. 1b (from Servant's entry), 3b, IV. 2, 3, 5-8
B—I. 4, 6, II. 2b (Viola's first speech), 4, III. 3a, IV. 1, V. 2
M—I. 1 (with perhaps some Fl lines between Ricardo's exit and the Servant's entry), 2a (to Antonio's entry), III. 1a (with perhaps some Fl in the first four or five speeches)
Fl and the unknown—IV. 4, V. 1
B, Fl, and the unknown—V. 3
The unknown (or perhaps Fl in a corrupt state)—III. 2

disfigured." Another characteristic of this hypothetical reviser I held to be his occasional insertion of an unnecessary pronoun, giving us, in V. 1, "such murders . . . as 'twould make," and, in V. 3, "my murdered kinsman, if he were living now, I should not know him," and "a round face, which some friends . . . would say 'twould be a good one." Mr. William Wells, who agrees with me in regarding the play as by Beaumont and Fletcher, revised by Massinger, writes me: "The peculiar specimens of syntax noted by you are characteristic of Beaumont." As no one has a closer knowledge of Beaumont than my correspondent, I accept this statement, assuming that I have omitted to make note of instances I found occurring elsewhere.

It will be seen then that I did not feel sure of my unknown; and I now abandon him, not that I am certain that I was wrong, but because I cannot feel certain that I was right, and I hold that I have no warrant for bringing in an additional author if I can otherwise account for the phenomena. So I now regard III. 2 and IV. 4 as corrupt Fletcher, V. 1 as Beaumont's, and V. 3 as Fletcher's as far as the Justice's entry, and thence Beaumont's, though it is quite as much like Rowley as like Beaumont. I make a few alterations in other scenes, as detailed below; and my division now stands:

B—I. 1a (3½ speeches), 4, 6, II. 4, III. 3a, IV. 1, V. 1-3
Fl—I. 2b, 3, 5, II. 1, 3, III. 2, 3c, IV. 2-6, 8
B and Fl—II. 2, III. 3b, (?) IV. 7
M—I. 2a
Fl and M—I. 1b, III. 1

Some of the scenes are very broken. In I. 1 the first 3½ speeches are clearly Beaumont's, but his hand does

not appear elsewhere in the scene. From "Yet I know not" to Viola's exit and from the Servant's entry is Massinger's; and the intervening portion shows us that writer's work superimposed upon Fletcher's. In II. 2 it is not only Viola's first speech that is Beaumont's: the nine speeches following Dorothy's exit are his also; and his hand is to be seen with Fletcher's in what follows. In III. 1 the first five speeches and the conclusion are Fletcher's, but there intervene seven speeches by Massinger. In III. 3, to Nan's entry is Beaumont's, and the last twelve speeches are Fletcher's, the rest of the scene showing traces of both writers. Very hesitatingly I set down IV. 7 as joint work by the two men. Massinger's portion of I. 2 ends with Antonio's second speech, the remainder of the scene being Fletcher's. It may be further noted that, though the touch of Fletcher seems perceptible now and then in the drunken humors of I. 6, I still prefer to consider that scene Beaumont's, and that in IV. 2, though the verse is the verse of Fletcher, and the scene is accordingly credited to him, the tone is that of Beaumont. It is worthy of note, too, that in V. 2 Beaumont's

> "I left her when the sun had so much to set
> As he is now got from his place of rise"

is precisely the sort of thing laughed at in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. It is hardly to be supposed that Beaumont can have penned this after he had ridiculed such absurdities. In this play his romanticism is of an exceedingly exaggerated character. The repentance and shame of Ricardo are of so wild a nature as to warrant Valerio in thinking him mad.

Fleay considered the play Beaumont and Fletcher's, but went no further than to point out certain scenes in which he believed Fletcher traceable. Later, he expressed agreement with me as to Massinger's presence, and thought the fourth author I fancied I saw might be D'avenant.[8] Boyle gives Beaumont and Fletcher very little credit for it, ascribing most of it to an unknown, who altered the original play. He thinks it, like *Cupid's Revenge* and *Wit at several Weapons*, but in less degree, so altered that conclusions from versification are mere guesswork, which is, I suppose, a way of saying that he found the work of separation very difficult. I differed in my original division from Boyle and Macaulay in regard to no less than five scenes; but they themselves agreed as to but one of these, that being the scene (I. 1) I gave to Massinger. Bullen thought the underplot relating to Viola might be attributed to Beaumont, but was in other parts "more frequently reminded of William Rowley than of Beaumont or Fletcher." Cruickshank is quite alone in considering it a very characteristic work of Beaumont and Fletcher. Alden, in his examination, dealt only with Beaumont. He agreed with my original division in seeing no Beaumont in I. 1 or II. 2 or IV. 7 or V. 1. He regarded III. 3 as wholly Beaumont's, and IV. 1 as containing nothing of that writer. Gayley considers the play a revision of Beaumont and Fletcher, but is doubtful whether there was only one reviser or two. As regards V. 1 he agrees with Alden and differs from me; as regards IV. 1, on the contrary, he agrees with me as against Alden. He thinks

[8] I doubt if this opinion was published.

the first thirty-five lines of I. 1 the work of a reviser, who is also present in I. 3; that in the drinking bout in I. 5 "some of the words indicate Fletcher, and the gratuitous obscenity, Fletcher or his reviser." He declares Viola's first speech to be the only piece of Beaumont in II. 2, and thinks that perhaps there is no Beaumont in the last thirty-six lines of III. 3, where Fletcher is discernible in the afterthoughts, and the hand of the reviser in the mutilation of the verse; IV. 3 he gives to Fletcher. He credits Beaumont with I. 4, 6, II. 4, III. 3 (to "where I may find service"), IV. 1, 2, 7, V. 2, and the last twenty-seven lines of 3. He considers that in the main plot Beaumont had no hand, unless in the prose of the trial scene at the close of V. The reviser he looks upon as much more likely to be Rowley than Massinger. Chelli considers the play by Beaumont and Fletcher, revised by Massinger.

As there is no general recognition of Massinger's presence, it behoves me to show my reasons for thinking him a reviser. Surely I am justified in regarding such lines as these his:

> "Allow me manners,
> Which you must grant I want, should I increase
> The bond in which your courtesies have tied me."
>
> (I. 1.)

> "Be ready, I entreat you: the dance done,
> Besides a liberal reward, I have
> A bottle of sherry in my power shall beget
> New crotchets in your heads."
>
> (I. 1.)

> "'Tis fit freedom."
>
> (I. 2.)

"*Merc.* I cannot blame you, now I see this letter.
Though you be angry, yet with me you must not,
Unless you'll make me guilty of a wrong
My worst affections hate.
*Maria.* Did not you send it?
*Merc.* No, upon my faith!
Which is more, I understand it not: the hand
Is as far from my knowledge as the malice.
*Maria.* This is strange.
*Merc.* It is so;
And had been stranger, and indeed more hateful,
Had I, that have received such courtesies
And owe so many thanks, done this base office."

(III. 1.)

## 38. *Thierry and Theodoret.*

This very fine tragedy was first printed by Walkley, anonymously, in 1621, as acted by the King's men at Blackfriars; in 1648 by Moseley, as Fletcher's; and the next year by the same publisher, as Beaumont and Fletcher's. The third quarto contains a prologue and epilogue, of which the former belongs to *The Noble Gentleman*, and the latter, which speaks of the drama as by one poet, is probably, as Fleay supposed, the epilogue to some play of Shirley's presented at Dublin. If the prologue was spoken at a production of *Thierry and Theodoret* in 1617, the statement that it was "in fashion" twenty years before would refer to "Branhowlte"; and it is not a little curious that the length of time mentioned should almost exactly suit the case; but, as I have not yet spoken of the old play or of the date, this is anticipating.

Unless we see reason to the contrary, the company must be taken as settled by the statement on the first

quarto; but the authorship is left very doubtful. The external evidence is, in fact, unusually weak: of all the plays in the 1679 folio, there are but three—this, *The Coronation*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—that cannot point to contemporary verses, a place among the Beaumont and Fletcher plays in the Cockpit list, a place in the first folio, or a prologue, epilogue, address, dedication, or title-page of sufficiently early date, ascribing it to one of our authors, in proof of the justice of its inclusion in the collection. The necessary corroboration is to be found, not in the prologue stolen from *The Noble Gentleman*, or even in Moseley's ascription of it to Fletcher, or in the attribution of it in Archer's catalogue to Beaumont and Fletcher, but in the internal evidence.

The play includes a character named De Vitry, and Fleay thought that this pointed to the Vitri who arrested the Marshal d'Ancre in April, 1617, especially as in that year the Privy Council suppressed a play dealing with the Marshal's death. Thorndike, however, points out that the use of the name implies no such late date, since there was a de Vitry (a Frenchman) at the English Court from 1603 to 1605 and the name occurs also in Fauchet's story of the doings of Brunhalt, which was first published in 1599. To quote Thorndike, "*Branhowlte*, an old play of 1597, mentioned in Henslowe's diary, may have been at the basis of *Thierry and Theodoret;* but the latter's obligation to the historical narrative is sometimes so minute and the development of the material so characteristic of Beaumont and Fletcher that I don't imagine they used the old play at all." Fleay also thought that the astrology of Lacure pointed

to the condemnation of Concini in 1617 for treason and sorcery; but Thorndike considered that the reference was rather to Dr. Forman, who was notorious from 1601 to 1611, when he died. Thorndike then proceeded to argue for an early date for the play, which he placed conjecturally in 1607;[1] but his arguments seem to me to point rather to a date some three years later. The date of the play is indeed a very knotty problem; and it is inextricably mixed up with the authorship. If Beaumont be concerned in it, the original production cannot have been so late as 1617; if he was not, it may have been, though, even then, there is nothing to render it impossible that it may have been produced as early as Thorndike supposes. It may be well, before stating my own view, to give the views of others.

Ward credits the play to Beaumont and Fletcher; Swinburne, to Fletcher and Massinger; Bullen and Macaulay, to Fletcher, Massinger, and another; Fleay, to Fletcher, Massinger, and Field; Boyle, to Fletcher, Massinger, and Daborne, though previously he had been inclined to include a fourth, who, he thought, might be Field.[2] Cruickshank detects the presence of Massinger. Chelli declares for Fletcher, Massinger, and Field. Gayley sees in it Fletcher, Massinger, and another who is not Beaumont. Alden is doubtful. Sykes declares for Massinger, Fletcher, and Webster; and Wells, who considers it an alteration by Fletcher and Massinger of an older play, at first thought the earlier writer

[1] Lawrence places it in 1608.

[2] An intermediate view of this critic's attributed the play to Massinger, Fletcher, and Field, with the remark that III. 2 suggested Wilkins.

Chapman, or perhaps Webster, but, at latest, is content to leave him nameless, declaring only that he is not Beaumont. With Mr. Wells' view that in the line

> "Here is my fort, my castle of defence!"
>
> (IV. 1.)

there may be an allusion to Shakespeare's Oldcastle, affording "a slight piece of evidence for a date as early as 1598" I cannot agree. I see in it no such reference. Finally, Thorndike finds Beaumont in it, and his arguments are worth reproducing. He points out that the situations involving Protaldye and the situations involving Ordella are additions to the historical material, and that the former are very like the Bessus scenes in *A King and no King*, while the final scene resembles the dénouement in *Cupid's Revenge*. "Brunhalt and Thierry are . . . developed much as their prototypes are developed in *Cupid's Revenge* from a similar outline in the 'Arcadia.' " Five types of character found in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *A King and no King*, and *Cupid's Revenge*, are all found here; and Thorndike conjectures that in the Fauchet narrative and the situation developed from it in *Thierry and Theodoret* is to be discerned the source of *A King and no King*. "I conjecture therefore," he says, "that Beaumont and Fletcher, having taken the Thierry-Memberge situation from Fauchet and used it in the play, later developed that situation into the Arbaces-Panthea plot, changed it so as to have a happy ending, and thus created *A King and no King*. The other resemblances between the two plays—the two kings in each play, one of whom in each case is a somewhat furi-

ous ranter, the queen-mother who loathes her son, the cowardly soldier, and the comic scenes—all these add to the plausibility of a direct connection between the two. . . . Furthermore, the elaboration of a slightly outlined motive into a series of effective situations and the addition of a happy dénouement are characteristic of the authors' dramatic methods and mark *A King and no King* as the later play."

My own view is that the play is, as it stands, a revision by Massinger of earlier work by Beaumont and Fletcher. My division is as follows (III being now treated as consisting of three scenes, whereas before I regarded it as containing but two):

Fl—I. 1, II. 2, 3, IV. 1, V. 2
B—III. 1a (to Theodoret's entry), 2a, c, 3b (from Servant's exit), V. 1a
B and Fl—V. 1b (from "*Vitry*. What blessed tongue")
M—I. 2, II. 1, 4, III. (?) 2b, 3a, IV. 2
B and M—III. 1b

The alterations from my former allotment are very slight. Formerly, I saw some Massinger with Fletcher in the first four speeches of I. 1, and a basis of Beaumont underlying the Massinger in the latter part of II. 4 (from Thierry's exit). The whole of III. 1 and 2 I gave to Beaumont and Massinger with a query; and I thought I saw the hand of Massinger as well as that of Beaumont in V. 1 as far as Protaldye's entry. The Beaumont part of III. 3 I began with Thierry's entry; but that makes a difference of only three lines. Finally, I began the joint Beaumont and Fletcher portion of V. 1 as far back as the Soldiers' second entry. There may, in fact, be more Fletcher in this act than I have

allowed for, since the latter part of the opening dialogue between De Vitry and the four soldiers (the characteristic Fletcherian number is to be noted) is not altogether unlike him. The scene may be compared with one in *Wit at several Weapons*. I am doubtful whether or not to regard III. 2b (the five speeches beginning "*Thi.* Come, do not weep") as a brief Massinger passage in a scene otherwise wholly Beaumont's. It would perhaps be more reasonable to treat the entire scene as Beaumont's (despite the Fletcherian "claw'd fearfully"). There may also be more rewriting by Massinger than I have credited him with. In V. 1a, for example, such a line as "You persuade! you are shallow. Give way to merit" has a very Massingerian ring. The description also of Protaldye in II. 2 as a State stallion finds analogies in *The Duke of Milan*, IV. 2, and *The Guardian*, III. 6, though it has to be mentioned that it also links up with Chapman's *Monsieur d'Olive*. As between Beaumont and Field I have applied eight verse-tests, to find that only three indicate Beaumont, while twice as many point to Field.

There are one or two slight signs of revision, and one that is worthy of note—the glaring discrepancy between III. 1 and III. 2. All the care displayed in the former to make Thierry suspicious of Theodoret is rendered useless by the way in which the plot develops in the later scene. The question of revision raises the date of that revision, and then we are faced with the date of the original version. Massinger's work must have been done before 1621—indeed, before October, 1620, when he was writing for the company at the Red Bull. I see no sign of late revision by Fletcher; but it is unlikely

that Massinger would be entrusted by the King's men with the revision of a Beaumont and Fletcher play at a time when Fletcher belonged to the company. We do not know when Massinger first joined the King's, or when Fletcher rejoined it. The earliest Fletcher date we can be positively sure of is 1616; Massinger's is 1619; nevertheless, it is possible that there was a time when Massinger was a member of the company and Fletcher was not. Such a time may have been in 1615 or early in 1616, when it is not impossible that the existing version of the play was presented. Fletcher's work throughout is early in style, not such as he was writing in 1616 or later. Even where I think I see it with Beaumont's I see no trace of his later style, and therefore take the work to have been done in collaboration. The play may or may not have been written originally for King's. If it was, we cannot date it earlier than 1610; if it was not, it must be dated not later than that year. On style, I should put it rather earlier than later.

I take the main author of III to be Beaumont, but do not profess any certainty. Beaumont is far more difficult to determine positively than is Massinger or than is the developed Fletcher, because he is so much more variable. As he has no stereotyped manner, no two plays of his are exactly alike. Hence I have to say regarding *Thierry and Theodoret*, and not regarding it alone, that, though I believe the hand I see to be the hand of Beaumont, I have no inclination to dogmatize on the matter. My first examination of the play produced similar doubts, and I wrote in "E. S." in regard to the suggestion that it might be a refashioning of the old Henslowe play of 1598, to which refer-

ence has already been made, "As I cannot convince myself that III. 1 is even partly Beaumont's, I am somewhat inclined to think that that scene is an alteration (by Massinger) of the old writer (whoever he may have been); and it may be he, instead of Beaumont, whose hand is to be detected in III. 2."

If Fleay was right in thinking that Field, instead of Beaumont was one of the authors (being responsible for III. 1, 2), it is not likely that Massinger would be found revising his work, as he is found revising in III. 1. Proofs of Massinger's presence in that scene are the following:

> "Till now I ne'er repented the estate
> Of widower";
>
> "The unripe virgins of our age, to hear it,
> Will dream themselves to women and convert
> The example to a miracle";
>
> "You teach a deaf man language";
>
> "What you
> Enjoy is but the banquet's view; the taste
> Stands from your palate."

Fleay gives I. 1, II. 2-3, IV. 1, and V. 2 to Fletcher; and I. 2, II. 1, and IV. 2 to Massinger. Boyle varied from that allotment by transferring II. 3 to Massinger, but subsequently ascribed it to Fletcher. Sykes awards I. 2, II. 1, and IV. 2 to Massinger; III. 2, 3, and V. 1 to Webster; II. 4 and III. 1 to the two jointly; and the rest of the play to Fletcher. The only bit that seems to me at all in the manner of Webster is a patch of a dozen speeches preceding Protaldye's first entry in III. 2, and even this I should be very doubtful about giving to him,

even could I see his hand certainly elsewhere in the play. One may note, by the way, a touch of the antique in III. 1. Macaulay attributed to Fletcher I. 1, II. 2, IV. 1, V. 2; to Massinger, I. 2, II. 1, IV. 2; and to a third author, III, V. 1.

An expression in IV. 1 ("Fall like spent exhalations") is paralleled in *Henry VIII* ("I shall fall like a bright exhalation").

## *Plays in which Shakespeare was Concerned.*

NO section will be more disapproved of than this, most investigators being willing to place in it only one play or two plays (according as they accept or reject the idea of the Shakespearean part authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). Two of the four plays here included are not generally regarded as having any claim to inclusion among the plays known under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher.

### 39. *Double Falsehood.*

I regard this (not of course on its merits as a drama) as one of the most important plays to be dealt with, since the question involved is not only of the authorship of Fletcher, but also of the authorship of Shakespeare. The play had been generally accepted as one by Theobald, though now and then a critic was to be found to suppose it to be based on some other writer—Massinger or Shirley or Shadwell—till Mr. Gamaliel Bradford advanced the theory of its being identical in its original form with the lost play *Cardenio*, credited to Shakespeare and Fletcher. To my thinking, he not only ad-

vanced the theory: he proved his case. His argument may be studied in "Modern Language Notes," XXV. 2: I give the pith of it here, reinforced with some points of my own, put forward in three articles in "Notes and Queries," February-April, 1919.

"Double Falsehood, or The Distrest Lovers" was first acted on December 13, 1727, and was printed the following year, as "written originally by W. Shakespeare, and now revised and adapted to the stage by Mr. Theobald." As was almost inevitable in the circumstance of the play being given to the world as Shakespeare's over a century after his death, it was denounced as a forgery. Whoever had sponsored it, it would no doubt have been proclaimed a fraud, because the critics at least would be unwilling to believe that a play of Shakespeare's could have remained hidden so long; but also it is hardly to be doubted that in the case of Theobald many literary men experienced great satisfaction at having so good an opportunity of attacking the alleged discoverer, who had made many enemies amongst them. Whatever their personal animus, some of the attackers knew what they were talking about when they declared that the play bore more signs of Fletcher than of Shakespeare. This suggestion was indignantly denied by Theobald—a fact which, for reasons I shall show later, affords the strongest proof of his *bona fides*, as does also his obviously genuine belief that the work had never been staged. He had not the knowledge of the stage history of Shakespeare's time that we possess to-day. What he did do was to add to the doubts expressed by claiming as his own certain lines which were picked out for praise. He may have been warranted in doing so; but he was at least unwise. His

action in regard to another play, produced in 1716, had also raised a question of his scrupulousness. He was accused of having stolen from a man named Mestayer a play called "The Perfidious Brother," which he produced as his own. Theobald did not deny that Mestayer had given him a plot and something designed to be a play, but claimed that he had so recast it as to feel justified in putting it out as his own. It does not seem an altogether honorable transaction; but it is to be said in his favor that even his enemies seemed to think there was nothing in the charge brought against him in this matter. In any case, there is a difference between claiming for oneself what is in its essence the work of another man and giving to another credit for work that is one's own. The theory that Theobald forged *Double Falsehood* is not to be adopted without good reason; but there is another possibility to be considered—the possibility that, finding an old Elizabethan play, he may have committed a double falsehood of his own by pretending that one of the manuscripts bore the name of Shakespeare, and by asserting that the play in its original form had never found its way to the stage.

The doubts raised as to a play by Shakespeare "being stifled and lost to the world for above a century" Theobald met thus: of the three copies he claimed to possess, one had been obtained from a "noble person," who had acquainted him with a tradition that it had been written in the time of Shakespeare's retirement from the stage and given by him to a natural daughter; one had been purchased "at a good rate"; and one, which was "in the handwriting of Mr Downes, the famous old prompter," had been (so he was "credibly informed") "early in the

possession of the celebrated Mr Betterton, and by him designed to have been usher'd into the world": he did not know what accident had prevented the fulfillment of this purpose. This may not seem a sufficient statement; but it is quite understandable that, if he possessed such manuscripts, he could give no reasonable account of their previous history. I am not aware that any of his critics was refuted by a sight of these manuscripts; but neither can it be said that any of them demanded an inspection.

Three reasons have been adduced for doubting Theobald's honesty in this matter—the unlikelihood of his possessing three manuscripts of the play; the disappearance of all three; and the omission of the play from his subsequently issued edition of Shakespeare's works. The first of these is not of much weight. Theobald, if meditating a revising of the play to fit it for the stage (for he seems to have genuinely believed that it had never been acted, the memory of its production having probably died out long before the time of Downes), would probably seek to get all the copies he could, especially as the value of his copyright would be seriously impaired if some one else published the play as it had stood in the original. Moreover, the very improbability of the story that he had three copies is an argument against his invention of it. Why should he have gone out of his way to make a statement that, even if accepted, would not have strengthened his case an iota?

The second argument is more cogent. Theobald's library, containing a number of old plays, was sold in 1744, after his death. If we could say definitely that among Theobald's effects there was no manuscript of a

play purporting to be by Shakespeare, the opponents of Theobald would have a good case; as it is, all that is to be said is that the matter is left indefinite: there have been other cases of old manuscripts disappearing. It has been suggested that the Shakespeare play in manuscript afterwards destroyed by Warburton's notorious cook was one of the copies of the original version of *Double Falsehood;* but we have no means of knowing.

The third point has not much in it: to have included *Double Falsehood* in his edition of Shakespeare would presumably have interfered with Theobald's copyright of the play, or at any rate with his profits. This copyright had been granted to him for fourteen years, and he naturally would not wish it disturbed, as it still had some eight years to run when his edition of Shakespeare was produced. There is then no really sound reason for doubting Theobald's honesty in this matter; and, as I shall show later, there is very strong reason for believing in it.

The source of the play is to be found in the story of Cardenio in "Don Quixote," first published in the original Spanish in 1605, and in the English translation by Shelton in 1612, the latter being followed early the next year by the appearance of a play on the subject, which was acted at Court by the King's men, and is variously entered as "Cardano," "Cardenno," "Cardema," and "Cardenna." Twice given at Court in that year, we hear no more of it till in the Stationers' Register forty years later (on September 9, 1653, to be exact) we find entered for publication by Humphrey Moseley "The History of Cardenio, by Mr. Fletcher and Shake-

speare." It may be said that an attribution after a lapse of forty years is not of much value, especially when made by a publisher who was in the habit of fraudulently getting two plays registered as one; but there are four very strong reasons for regarding Moseley's entry as genuine. First, so far as is known, he never deliberately ascribed a play to some one who had had nothing to do with its authorship. Mr. Baldwin Maxwell, in an article on "Fletcher and *Henry VIII*" in "The Manly Anniversary Studies" considers that Moseley "was either insincere or misinformed," because *Cardenio* was not included in the folio (neither, it may be remarked, was *Pericles*), and because on the same day Moseley assigned *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* to Shakespeare and "the two plays *Henry I* and *Henry II* to Shakspere and Davenant—the latter a boy of ten when Shakspere died." If it were D'avenant (in point of fact, it is not, it is Davenport) who was named with Shakespeare, there would yet be no significance in the difference in their ages: all the entry would mean would be that the plays were written by the one and rewritten, for revival purposes, by the other. Nor is Mr. Maxwell justified in treating these plays as a proof of either insincerity or misinformation on Moseley's part, for we do not know but that *Henry I* and *Henry II* were Shakespeare's: we only assume they were not because they are not included in his collected works. As they are not extant, we can pass no opinion on their right to be reckoned as Shakespearean. There was a play on the subject of Henry I produced for the first time in 1597 by the Admiral's men (therefore not by Shakespeare); but there is no call to identify this with the Moseley

play. *The Merry Devil* is extant; and the internal evidence admittedly shows it not to be Shakespeare's; but the question is not, Was Moseley right in his attribution? but Was he justified in it to the best of his belief? The play was published anonymously; but Moseley's manuscript may not improbably have carried Shakespeare's name. That that is a reasonable assumption is shown by the circumstance that Charles II's librarian had the play bound in a volume labeled with Shakespeare's name; and we may be quite sure that he knew nothing of Moseley's Stationers' Register entry. Therefore I think it may be assumed that the names of Fletcher and Shakespeare were on the manuscript of *Cardenio* which Moseley possessed. Secondly, we now know that a play on this very subject was presented by the company with which both poets were connected. Thirdly, its production synchronizes with the supposed collaboration of the two authors in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII.* (Lawrence dates *Cardenio* 1612; but I know no reason for doing so.) Fourthly, all these facts fit in with Theobald's statement that the play on the same subject which he published three-quarters of a century later was by Shakespeare, it being borne in mind that Theobald certainly had no knowledge of the Moseley attribution.

Against these arguments for the genuineness of Moseley's entry are to be set two—the non-inclusion of the play in any Shakespeare folio, and its non-inclusion in either Beaumont and Fletcher folio. Neither argument is worth much. Moseley was the publisher of the first Beaumont and Fletcher folio; but, as he did not enter this play till some six years later, it presumably was not

in his possession in 1647. The folio of 1679 added none not already in print. Similarly, too late for inclusion in either of the first two Shakespeare folios, the play's exclusion from the folio of 1663 is of no significance when we consider that the seven additional plays (all but one of which the critics are agreed in rejecting) had all been published earlier in quarto. The publishers may not have been able to secure possession of Moseley's manuscript, and may even have been ignorant of its existence.

And, as Theobald unwittingly bears testimony to the honesty of Moseley, so does Moseley help to make plain to us the honesty of Theobald. The latter did not know that *Cardenio* had ever been acted (his sincerity on that score is scarcely to be questioned), and he was ignorant that the names of Fletcher and Shakespeare had ever been connected in a play on the subject of Cervantes' story. How can it be supposed that he would otherwise have failed to make much of the fact, or that, when his enemies and critics pointed out that "the coloring, diction, and characters" were "nearer to the style and manner of Fletcher" than to those of Shakespeare, he should have so indignantly denied the correctness of their view? What a feast for those who see nothing but irony in life to note how Theobald's enemies, in attacking his honesty, have helped to prove it, and how Theobald, equally ignorant of the facts, violently repudiated these proofs! To us the admission of Fletcher's presence in *Double Falsehood* is a long step toward its identification with *Cardenio,* and consequently toward Shakespeare's connection with it.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the internal

evidence, one or two minor objections to the identification of *Cardenio* with *Double Falsehood* may be briefly dealt with. Fleay suggested that the former might be *Love's Pilgrimage;* but that play is not from "Don Quixote" and contains no character named Cardenio. Professor Rudolph Schevill, in "Modern Philology," argued that Theobald took the story of *Double Falsehood* from a collection of novels published nearly two years later. His case seems to me a very weak one. Richard Farmer held that the play dated from the middle of the seventeenth century, because "aspect" is accented on the opening syllable, as never in the time of Shakespeare; but the argument has no force if we regard the play as partly of the early seventeenth and partly of the eighteenth. Cruickshank regards it as "an 18th century effusion in the manner of Rowe." Churton Collins, with better judgment, believed it to be "founded on some old play," but, for the most part, "from Theobald's own pen."

Farmer and Dyce considered the play Shirley's; I fail to see any reason for such an attribution. Massinger, too, has been suggested; but there are not in the whole play half-a-dozen lines that remind me of him. Of those writers with whom the play has not been connected on any grounds (however slight) of external evidence, Beaumont is the only one of whom I am sufficiently reminded to warrant any close examination of his claim; and, when one bears in mind his connection with Fletcher and the date of the play, one may be justified in adding his name to those of Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Theobald as those for whose characteristics special search is to be made.

The task of determining the authorship by the internal evidence is rendered difficult by the fact that the play has been, in the words of the royal license prefixed to the 1728 edition, "with great labour and pains revised and adapted to the stage" by Theobald; the verse's mechanism is more or less ruined; the music has been robbed of much of its individuality; the dramatic technique and the characterization afford no sound criteria; and the imagery, the habit of thought, the diction, and the sentence-building have been so overlaid that definite results are not to be looked for. The first thing to be seen is that the hand of the eighteenth-century reviser is to be found in every scene, and that two scenes (II. 3 and 4) are wholly his. And here let me remark that with Mr. Bradford's division of the play between the two original authors I am in almost complete agreement, though my examination was made quite independently, and comparison made with his only after I had obtained my own results and formed my own conclusions.

Mr. Bradford was the first critic to note (or at least the first to announce the fact) that a new voice becomes audible in III. 3. It is the voice of Fletcher, who is thenceforward dominant. In this first scene we see his work overwritten by Theobald in the first nine speeches, though the editor's other work is limited to the provision of a closing couplet. The other Fletcherian portions of the play are that part of IV. 1 preceding Julio's entry (the text having perhaps undergone some revision by Theobald); that part of the same scene between Violante's reëntry and the entry of Roderick; IV. 2, as far as "And those to come shall sweetly sleep to-

gether" (with the exception of the song), the remainder of the scene showing Fletcher overwritten by Theobald; V. 1 (as revised by Theobald); and, also revised, V. 2, from "Thou art a right one," though as far as "*Duke.* Weep not, child" has been left as originally written, the persistent Theobald, to atone for this, having left nothing whatever of Fletcher from "*Leon.* The righteous powers at length have crown'd our loves" onward. I do not know how any one acquainted with the peculiarities of Fletcher's style can deny his authorship of the portions of the play I have marked as his. To quote lines in proof, I can hardly do better than follow Mr. Bradford, whose choice of passages is excellent.

To any unprejudiced critic acquainted with the characteristics of Fletcher (bearing in mind that it is the Fletcher of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Henry VIII*, and *The Honest Man's Fortune*, and not the Fletcher of *Rule a Wife*) I may confidently point to this, from III. 3:

"She's stol'n away; and whither gone I know not.
*Cam.* She has a fair blessing in being from you, sir.
I was too poor a brother for your greatness:
You must be grafted into noble stocks
And have your titles raised. My state was laughed at,
And my alliance scorn'd. I've lost a son too,
Which must not be put up so."

And this, from IV. 1:

"*Mast.* Have you learnt the whistle yet, and when to fold,
And how to make the dog bring in the strayers?
*Viol.* Time, sir, will furnish me with all these rules.
My will is able, but my knowledge weak, sir.
*Mast.* That's a good child. Why dost thou blush, my boy?—
(*Aside*) 'Tis certainly a woman.—Speak, my boy.

*Viol.* Heav'n, how I tremble!—'Tis unusual to me
To find such kindness at a master's hand,
That am a poor boy, ev'ry way unable,
Unless it be in pray'rs, to merit it.
Besides, I've often heard old people say
Too much indulgence makes boys rude and sawcy.
*Mast.* Are you so cunning?
*Viol.* (*aside*) How his eyes shake fire
And measure ev'ry piece of youth about me!—
The ewes want water, sir: shall I go drive 'em
Down to the cisterns? Shall I make haste, sir?—
(*Aside*) Would I were five miles from him! How he gripes me!
*Mast.* Come, come: all this is not sufficient, child,
To make a fool of me. This is a fine hand,
A delicate fine hand—never change colour:
You understand me—and a woman's hand."

And this, from IV. 2:

"I cannot get this false man's memory
Out of my mind. You maidens that shall live
To hear my mournful tale when I am ashes,
Be wise, and to an oath no more give credit,
To tears, to vows (false both), or anything
A man shall promise, than to clouds, that now
Bear such a pleasing shape, and now are nothing;
For they will cozen (if they may be cozen'd)
The very gods they worship."

And, finally, this, from V. 1:

"And dare you lose these to be advocate
For such a brother, such a sinful brother,
Such an unfaithful, treacherous, brutal brother?"

Here are recognizable examples of Fletcher's tricks of repetition, of sentence-building and of phraseology; and the habit of thought is his. Throughout the play the characterization is so badly blurred that it is diffi-

cult to draw any conclusion from it; but, as Mr. Bradford remarks, the two old men are "exactly the types of garrulous, waspish, fretful, pompous old men" dear to Fletcher. As they are barely mentioned in the Cervantes story, their introduction is of considerable significance as pointing to Fletcher's authorship of the play.

Mr. Bradford does not expressly say that in the earlier part of the play he can recognize the voice of Shakespeare; but one can see that he is deterred from doing so by that fear which appears to assail all literary critics when they are asked to pass an opinion on the spuriousness of passages in what passes for Shakespeare's work or on the Shakespearean quality of passages in plays not received into the canon. It needs even more courage to declare any play outside the canon to be in any degree Shakespeare's than to question the authenticity of scenes in the canonical plays which the high Panjandrums of the Elizabethan drama have treated as indubitably genuine; so, instead of blaming Mr. Bradford for his reticence, we may be grateful to him for having dared to say all he did say. In indicating his belief in Shakespeare's presence he flew in the teeth of all that had been said on the subject of *Double Falsehood*. Thus Mr. D. Nichol Smith, in his "Eighteenth Century Essays," remarked that, in ascribing the play to Shakespeare, Theobald "must at least stand convicted of ignorance of the Shaksperean manner" (a criticism that overlooks the admitted fact of Theobald's adaptation); Sir Sidney Lee maintained that there was "nothing in the play as published by Theobald to suggest Shakspere's hand"; and Professor Lounsbury declared that there was "scarcely a trace of the great dramatist in it, even of his best or

worst manner." Mr. Sykes tells me that he is "extremely sceptical" of Shakespeare's presence; and Mr. Wells sees neither Fletcher nor Shakespeare. Mr. Bradford in his article reminds me that I too have written similarly, having pronounced the play to contain "nothing that could have been written by Fletcher or Shakspere." It was a rash statement, characteristic of the attitude of more than myself. Overcome by the prevalence of the idea that the play was by Theobald himself, I supposed it outside my scope (which was confined to the plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher cycle), and gave but a casual glance at a chance page or two of a copy in the British Museum. I confess my fault, and retract.

Mr. Bradford speaks, justly, of the presence of "a firmer, stronger hand" than Fletcher's. Overlaid by Theobald's, this hand is to be seen in the first two speeches of the opening scene, in I. 2 (with the exception of ten speeches beginning "*Leon.* What do you mean?"), in I. 3, in II. 1, in II. 2, in III. 1, in the first four speeches of III. 2 and in that portion of the scene between "*Scene opens to a large hall*" and "Most perjur'd if I do," and in five speeches of IV. 1 immediately succeeding Julio's entry (the first of these five having apparently undergone no alteration by the editor). As for the rest of I. 1 and 2, the balance of III. 2, and the remainder of IV. 1 to the reëntry of Violante, as well as the conclusion of that scene, they seem to be entirely the work of the reviser, though his portions of III. 2 and IV. 1 may possibly hold some fragments of the work of the older writer, from whom may perhaps also come the opening portion of the final scene.

This writer I believe to have been Shakespeare; but in coming to a determination on the point one has to be guided largely by the external evidence and the probabilities, for the original work has been too heavily overlaid for the writer's touch to be clear and unmistakable. It may to some people seem strange that so much of Fletcher's work should have been left intact when that of his greater comrade was so badly mangled; but Mr. Bradford argues quite soundly and reasonably that Shakespeare's work, in "the rugged, vigorous, difficult thought" of his later period, would be more likely than "Fletcher's fluent theatrical rhetoric" to call for revision in the preparation of an acting version; and this argument is strengthened by a consideration of the taste of Theobald and of his time. The fact that Shakespeare's work occurs in the early part of the play may also have helped, since it is quite comprehensible that the editor may have slackened in the performance of his task as he proceeded with it. But, however Theobald may have battered Shakespeare's work, there remain a few lines that are markedly Shakespearean in manner. Such are:

> "As if she there seven reigns had slandered Time"
>
> (I. 3);
>
> "Those that subtly make their words their ward,
> Keeping Address at distance"
>
> (I. 2);
>
> "My flames are in the flint.
> Haply to lose a husband I may weep;
> Never to get one"
>
> (I. 2);

and is not this a Shakespearean coinage set in a Shakespearean construction?

"What you can say is most unseasonable; what sing,
Most absonant and harsh"
(I. 3);

and here, printed as prose, is a sentence more like Shakespeare than any one else:

"Not love, but brutal violence prevail'd,
To which the time and place and opportunity
Were accessories most dishonorable."
(II. 1.)

The use of "heirs" as a verb (I. 1) also seems to point to Shakespeare. And, finally, let me quote a passage from III. 1 which it requires some boldness to quote, since it contains the famous line denounced by Pope as being too bathetical to be by any possibility Shakespeare's:

"Is there a treachery like this in baseness
Recorded anywhere? It is the deepest;
None but itself can be its parallel.
And from a friend professed! Friendship? Why, 'tis
A word for ever maimed: in human nature
It was a thing the noblest, and 'mong beasts
It stood not in mean place: things of fierce nature
Hold amity and concordance. Such a villany
A writer could not put down in his scene
Without taxation of his auditory
For fiction most enormous."

I have not at hand, for quotation, Theobald's defense of the line which Pope ridiculed; but he is stated by Lounsbury to have shown conclusively "that this particular line selected for animadversion was not different in character from several others to be found" in Shakespeare. Those who choose may regard the line as constituting a theft by Theobald from Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, IV. 3 ("And, but herself, admits no parallel");

but it is more reasonable to look upon it as a proof of the anteriority of the play we are dealing with, though, if we are seeking for origins, we can go back as far as the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca. Gifford reasonably took the line as a proof of the Elizabethan foundation of the play, and also pointed out that the use of the word "comparison" for "caparison" in I. 3 ("Throw all my gay comparisons aside"), over which also Pope made merry, was to be matched in Massinger's *Picture* ("Rich suits, the gay comparisons of pride"), and that it constituted a proof of Theobald's good faith. It is so, I think, that it is to be regarded.

There are other reasons for connecting the play with Fletcher and Shakespeare. Mr. Bradford points out that betrayal of friendship is the subject of *Double Falsehood* as of *The Two Noble Kinsmen;* that, as the lovelorn gaoler's daughter in the one is overtaken by madness, so is the wronged Julio in the other; that the conduct of the story is on the lines of the Beaumont and Fletcher romantic drama and of the later work of Shakespeare; that Fletcher was fond of going to Cervantes for his plots; that here, as in *The Winter's Tale, The Tempest,* and *Cymbeline,* as well as in *Pericles,* "an important element of the dénouement is the common romantic theme of the restoration of lost children to their parents"; that the piling up of climax on climax in the closing scene is similar to the nature and conduct of the final scene in *Cymbeline,* and, moreover, that it is accomplished by an entire departure from the original story; and that, as in *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* Fletcher had nothing to do with the opening scenes. He might also have mentioned the use here, as in *The*

*Two Noble Kinsmen*, of the name Gerrold or Gerald. I cannot recall it in any other play, though we have an occasional Giraldo elsewhere, and Gerrard in *Beggars' Bush* and *The Triumph of Love*.

In places (in II. 2, III. 3, and V. 2) I am reminded of Beaumont, but not so strongly as to warrant me in supposing him to have been concerned in the work. I here, for the purpose of easy reference, tabulate my verdict on the play:

S—IV. 1b (first speech after Julio's entry), (?) V. 2a
Fl—III. 3b, IV. 1a (perhaps revised by Th), e (from Violante's reëntry to the entry of Roderick), 2a, c, V. 2b
S and Th—I. 1a (two speeches), 2a, c, 3, II. 1, 2, III. 1, 2a, c, IV. 1c (four speeches)
Fl and Th—III. 3a (nine speeches), IV. 2d, V. 1, 2c
Th—I. 1b, 2b, II. 3, 4, III. 2b, d, 3c (closing couplet), IV. 1d, f, 2b (song), V. 2d

Since the publication of my study of this play in "Notes and Queries," an interesting article by Mr. Walter Graham has been published in "Modern Philology," volume 14, wherein the verse of the play is submitted to the test of comparison with Theobald's own dramatic work, and also with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII*. His findings may be thus summarized, calling the Theobald plays "A," the Fletcherian portions of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII* "B," that part of *Double Falsehood* in which Bradford sees the hand of Fletcher "C," the remainder of the play "D," and the Shakespearean portions of the other two Shakespeare and Fletcher plays "E":

Percentage of feminine endings—A, 16 to 22.6; B, 58 to 62; C, 44.2; D, 32; E, 21.5 to 28.

Percentage of run-on lines—A, 9 to 15; B, 25.8 to 26; C, 15.2; D, 21.5; E, 52 to 54.6.

Percentage of weak and light endings—A, .025 to .08; B, .22 to .23; C, .39; D, 2.7; E, 8.15 to 10.8.

When one bears in mind that the Shakespeare part of *Double Falsehood* was so largely rewritten, and that, as Mr. Graham points out, it must have been greatly abridged to secure its reduction to about the dimensions of Theobald's own plays, these results are not without significance. On Mr. Graham's figures, Theobald's average percentage of feminine endings in his three plays is 19.4, Shakespeare's in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII* is 25.1, and Fletcher's in the same two plays is 60. The percentage in the Fletcher and Theobald part of *Double Falsehood* is then just what might be expected, whereas the percentage in the Shakespeare and Theobald portion is higher than might reasonably be looked for. In the matter of weak and light endings, on the contrary, the Shakespeare and Theobald percentage is a natural combination of the .05 of Theobald with the 9.6 of Shakespeare, in view of the former's predominance, while the .39 of the Fletcher and Theobald section is high, being considerably above even the .23 of Fletcher. The figure for the run-on lines is entirely satisfactory in both cases when we remember to how much greater an extent Theobald meddled with Shakespeare's work than he did with Fletcher's, the percentage for his three plays coming out at 11.2, as compared with Fletcher's 25.9 and Shakespeare's 53.4. These tests appear then on the whole to be confirmative of the division here made.

In conclusion, I desire to point out that any one

who refuses to regard the play as originally Elizabethan and looks on it as a shameless forgery by Theobald is driven to consider that, though he knew nothing of any supposition of a collaboration of Shakespeare and Fletcher in a drama on the subject, he yet about midway through the play abruptly changed his style and adopted what is at least a remarkably good imitation of the Fletcherian manner. Had he suspected such collaboration, he might possibly have done so; but in the circumstances the demand made upon us for an acceptance of the theory of mere coincidence is altogether too much. The weakness of Sir Sidney Lee's supposition that "Theobald doubtless took advantage of a tradition that Shakspere and Fletcher had combined to dramatize the Cervantes theme" is that there is no proof of such a tradition—that, in fact, there is the strongest reason for saying that Theobald had never heard the slightest hint of it. The play must therefore be regarded as based on an Elizabethan drama, and as containing passages that were contained in the original, and the early author of the latter portion of it must on internal evidence be set down as Fletcher. If we admit so much, we have made a big stride toward admitting the presence of Shakespeare—a circumstance that may cause many to deny Fletcher's participation. That both are present I have no doubt. Let me say, to avert misunderstanding, that I am not ascribing *Double Falsehood* partly to Shakespeare merely on the strength of a few odd lines bearing some resemblance to his style. I base my view on the strong case made for Fletcher by the combined external and internal evidence, and by the fact that the external evidence and the probabilities unite to make Shakespeare

Fletcher's collaborator; wherefore, as certain passages bear the imprint of his style and manner of thought, I feel justified in regarding them as his.

### 40. *Henry VIII.*

Whatever its dramatic faults, and it has several, *Henry VIII*, like the play next to be dealt with, must be regarded as in the front rank of the plays we have to consider. First published in the 1623 Shakespeare folio, and later in the three following folios, it did not appear in either of the Beaumont and Fletcher folios. To deduce from that fact that neither Beaumont nor Fletcher was in any way concerned in it would not be warranted: the prior inclusion in the Shakespeare folios would practically ensure its omission from the Beaumont and Fletcher folios. There is no doubt about the company that produced it, for, under the title of "All is True," it was being performed at the Globe when the theater was burnt to the ground, in June, 1613. There is no doubt about the date; but was that production the original one? and has the play come down to us in the form in which it was then acted?

Efforts have been made to date it back to the reign of Elizabeth, because of the apotheosis of the great Queen. I have seen an attempt made by one apparently more anxious to make out a case than to ascertain the truth to claim the play as an apology for Henry and a glorification of Anne, and therefore as Elizabethan; while another, seemingly equally determined to maintain a preconceived view rather than to look facts fairly in the face, declared the play to be antagonistic to Anne and a showing-up of the king, and therefore not Eliza-

bethan. I do not see that anything can be deduced from the treatment of either Henry or Anne. The sympathetic treatment of Katharine seems post-Elizabethan, while the prediction of the greatness of Elizabeth seems on the contrary as if it should be pre-Jacobean. The fact is, however, that internal evidence shows this flattery of Elizabeth to be by Fletcher, so that, however unlikely it may seem for it to have been written after the accession of James, it must assuredly date from his reign. It is quite possible that the drama may have been based on an old play of the Queen's reign; but I do not myself see any traces of such a play. Wotton, too, distinctly speaks of it as new in 1613. It seems, however, to read to Chambers as if it were a rehandling of the *Buckingham* which the Sussex' men were playing in 1593-4. A more reasonable suggestion is that it may have been one of a group of plays staged in the earliest years of the seventeenth century on the subject of the reign of Henry VIII. If Chettle had a play of *Wolsey* on the stage in June, 1601, and Mundy, Drayton, and Chettle did a *Rise of Wolsey* in October and November of the same year, and Samuel Rowley's *Henry VIII* was produced in May, 1603, may not Shakespeare's play have come then, in rivalry to these? We can hardly fancy Rowley's play being brought out in opposition to Shakespeare's; so it would mean a date for the King's men's play later than May, 1603. But there is really no ground for believing that the play of 1613 was not then enjoying its first run. The new editions of Samuel Rowley's play and the apocryphal *Cromwell* in 1613 were probably the outcome of its production. Fleay thinks that Shakespeare's part of the play was written in 1609,

that it was finished by Fletcher in 1613, and partly destroyed in the fire; but I am not aware of any strong arguments for that view.

Whether the play as it stands dates from 1613 is another matter. There are certain indications that it does not. The prologue is addressed to

> "The first and happiest hearers of the town"

and speaks of the charge for admission as a shilling. Fleay therefore thought it had been written for and spoken at the Blackfriars, whereas the play of 1613 was given at the Globe; but Mr. W. J. Lawrence has given excellent reasons for rejecting this inference. If there was a production at the Blackfriars sometime between 1613 and 1623, it is possible that there may have been some rewriting, especially as the original manuscript may have been destroyed in the fire. That it is more than a possibility is shown by the fact pointed out by Fleay that an old ballad speaks of the reprobates praying for the fool in the play on the occasion of the fire, whereas there is no fool in the play as we know it. Another significant fact is the double title. I am inclined to think that a double title (whether alternative or changed) is an almost sure sign that the play concerned has known revival, and probably rewriting. It may not, however, do so in this case; for it is to be noted that, of three contemporary writers who refer to the Globe fire, two speak of the play by its present title, while the third describes it as "*All is True*, representing some principal pieces of the Raign of Henry 8." There need be no doubt that "All is True" was the right name (Sir Henry Wotton, the authority in question, would hardly either imagine or in-

*The Globe Theatre*

vent it); and it may be that the other two knew only the subject of the play, and not its real title. It is held that the old title is referred to thrice in the prologue. The spectators are told they "may here find truth," are warned not to "rank our chosen truth" with trivial shows, and are assured of

> "The opinion that we bring
> To make that only true we now intend."

But it is not certain that any allusion to the title is intended, though the chances are that it is. If, then, the prologue was written for a revival, it means that the old title was retained. On the whole, it may be said that, though there is a probability of a revision after 1613, there is no certainty of it. Even the number of mute people on the stage in the course of the play—in I. 2, Lovell and Suffolk; in II. 1, Sands; in II. 4, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Ely, Rochester, and St. Asaph; in III. 1, Lovell; and, in V. 5, several—does not necessarily imply abridgment in a work that is so largely spectacle. There is perhaps more to be inferred from the purposelessness of I. 3. Spedding considered the festivity of V inconsistent with the Prologue's forecast of the trend of events, and thought that dual authorship was shown by the excitement of sympathy in a contrary direction to the course of action, and by the triumph of the king's case, though it is represented as bad; but this surely was determined by the facts of history. The inconsistencies to which Spedding directed attention seem to be rather proofs of revision than of simultaneous joint authorship; but they may be held to point rather to a revision or completion of earlier work

in 1613 than to revision of work originally done in 1613.

Since Spedding and Hickson advanced the theory of Fletcher's participation, it is but few critics who have held to the old view of Shakespeare's sole authorship. Swinburne admitted the likeness of much of it to the work of Fletcher, but declared against him because to accept him meant giving to him the death-scene of Katharine. Halliwell-Phillipps was another. Among later men of note I know of but one who denies the presence of Fletcher. This is Mr. Charles Crawford, who wrote me some years ago that I must be prepared to see that dramatist "knocked out of" *Henry VIII;* but, if he ever did the work thus foreshadowed, it has never been published. Mr. Baldwin Maxwell, more moderately, urges stylistic differences between the non-Shakespearean portions of the play and the dramas of Fletcher, and argues that these suggest that, "if indeed he had a hand in the play at all, his participation was limited: either he was revising another's work or the peculiarities of his style and method were modified by a collaborator." Mr. W. J. Lawrence regards the text as representing "Fletcher's later revision of Shakspere."

A few acceptors of Fletcher have gone farther, and, in face of the strong external evidence, to say nothing of the internal, have denied Shakespeare any share. Boyle was the first, his theory being that the Shakespeare play had been destroyed in the Globe fire, and that the present one was written by Fletcher and Massinger to take its place. Dr. Aldis Wright also denied the presence of Shakespeare, though he did not express any view as to the real responsibility for the play. Mr. J. M. Robert-

son thinks the theory of Fletcher and Massinger's authorship "probably sound." Browning thought there was nothing in the play beyond the scope of Massinger. Mr. Pooler leans in the same direction, but sees a Shakespearean foundation badly mangled in the rewriting. Mr. Sykes is the principal champion to-day of the opinion that would substitute Massinger for Shakespeare, and in the course of his pleadings puts forward the following remarkable view: "The a priori arguments against the proposition that Shakspere, Massinger, and Fletcher all had a hand in the play and that the suggestions of Massinger's hand are to be accounted for by his revision of Shakspere's work seem to me even stronger than those against the attribution of the play to Shakspere and Fletcher alone. That Massinger . . . should have considered himself capable of improving upon the work of the acknowledged master of his art . . . seems to me utterly inconceivable." There is here an unwarrantable assumption of vanity on the part of play-patchers. Vanity was not, I take it, the controlling factor—was, in fact, so slight a factor that it may safely be ignored. A company's "poet" was given revisory work to do, and had to do it. That is all there was to it.

Such present-day critics as Parrott, Wells, and Cruickshank will have none of this substitution of Massinger for Shakespeare. The last-named calls attention to the "complete absence of Massinger's sentences and frequent parentheses, as also of his peculiar vocabulary. . . . There is a curious series of links in the play by which characters who are to come on later are introduced. . . . This is a method of which I can recall no instance in Massinger's undoubted plays. . . . The way in which

. . . historical details are dragged in is quite unlike Massinger, and very like Shakspere." Mr. W. E. Farnham (Publications of the Modern Language Association, volume XXXI) has shown that in the use of colloquial contractions the play conforms with Shakespeare's practice, and not with Massinger's; and this is a hurdle which it is not easy for the Massingerians to jump. Finally, as Miss Marjorie H. Nicolson says (in Publications of the Modern Language Association, volume XXXVII), Boyle gives his case away when he says that Shakespeare's style of versification is not distinguishable from Massinger's, though the statement is, in point of fact, absurd. This writer, in a remarkably able article, argues that the non-Fletcherian portion of the play was the first written. If that be so, the odds against its having been by Massinger are very heavy.

Between the Fletcher inclusionists and the Shakespeare exclusionists have stood those who have accepted the presence of Massinger, but have declined to cast out Shakespeare. Such are Fleay and Ward and Bullen, and, more recently, Chelli (who looks on Fletcher and Massinger as revisers); and Macaulay seems inclined to go with them, though he is doubtful about Massinger. It is a far more reasonable attitude than the other. The inclusion of the play in the folio of 1623 as Shakespeare's is something not to be cast aside in the light and airy way in which Mr. Sykes disposes of it. My own view, as expressed in "E. S.,"[1] was in line with the

[1] My division was:
S—I. 2a, c, II. 4, III. 2a (to King's exit), V. 1
Fl—I. 3, 4, II. 1a, 2a, c, III. 1, 2b, IV. 1b, 2, V. 2, 3b (from Guard's entry)-5

attitude taken up by Fleay and Bullen, in that I found place for all three authors; but I was much less liberal than they in transferring scenes from Shakespeare to Massinger. When I made my reëxamination, I became convinced that, even then, I had not been conservative enough, and that the hints of Massinger were too slight to warrant me in accepting the theory of his participation, though I still thought the prologue and epilogue his. A still later examination, however, persuades me that Massinger is really present, though in minute quantities. He seems to me to have acted merely as editor and reviser, and not to have attempted any extensive rewriting. As I propose to deal now with the scenes in which I formerly saw Massinger's hand, those in which I now see it, and those in which Sykes sees it, it may be well first to give Sykes' division of the play. He accords to Fletcher the prologue, II. 2, III. 2 (from the exit of the King), V. 2, 4, 5; and to Massinger, the epilogue, I. 1 (with perhaps "a touch of Fletcher's revision"), 2, II. 3, 4, III. 2 (to exit of King), IV. 1, V. 1; the rest being mixed.

I judge I. 1 to be wholly Shakespeare's. The verse is markedly in his manner, and not at all in the manner of Massinger; the parallels adduced by Sykes are not convincing; and the piece of technique that keeps Buckingham away from the meeting of the kings, so that he may be told of it, is too cheap and common a device to

M—I. 2b (the latter part of Wolsey's longest speech), II. 1b (from Buck's exit), IV. 1a (to Procession), V. 3a

S and M—I. 1, II. 3

Fl and M—II. 2b (from Cham's exit to Wol's)

I now treat V as consisting of five scenes, instead of only four, as previously. My former scene 2 is now scenes 2 and 3.

warrant one in building anything on it. In I. 2 the parallels Sykes quotes are a hundred per cent stronger. In "E. S." I declared the latter half of Wolsey's second speech to be an insertion by Massinger. It seemed to me that Shakespeare ended it with the word "censurers," the passage running:

> "We must not stint
> Our necessary actions, in the fear
> To cope malicious censurers.
> *King.* Things done well,
> And with a care, exempt themselves from fear";

and the parallels that Mr. Sykes adduces from this passage confirm me in my view. Similarly, I believe that the earlier lines (also quoted in part by Mr. Sykes),

> "That you would love yourself, and in that love
> Not unconsidered leave your honour nor
> The dignity of your office, is the point
> Of my petition.
> *King.* Lady mine, proceed,"

are also a Massinger insertion, the passage having originally run:

> "*Q. Kath.* Thank your Majesty.
> I am solicited, not by a few."

The earlier line which Mr. Sykes shows reason to regard as Massinger's—

> "Nay, we must longer kneel: I am a suitor"—

may also be an insertion. It may be noted that, according to the stage directions, "The King riseth from his state, takes her up, kisses, and placeth her by him," after which she says

> "Nay, we must longer kneel: I am a suitor,"

and he replies

"Arise and take place by us,"

though we are probably to understand these remarks as preceding the action indicated. It may be, however, that the whole of the first four speeches after the Queen's entry are an insertion.

The first two speeches of I. 3 offer another little addition by Massinger; but I judge them to be his less by the conjunction of "juggle" and "mysteries" in the first speech, which appeals so much to Mr. Sykes, than by the tone and style of the second. In the duologue that concludes II. 1 there are signs of the presence of Massinger as well as of Fletcher, and in the next scene, in which Mr. Sykes sees no sign of him, I believe we have Massinger inserting half-a-dozen lines, to bring in a touch of justice, Fletcher having written,

"Where's Gardiner?
Prithee call Gardiner to me, my new secretary,"

and Massinger having introduced between the two lines

"*Wol.* I know your majesty has always loved her
So dear in heart not to deny her that
A woman of less place might ask by law,
Scholars allow'd freely to argue for her.
*King.* Ay, and the best she shall have, and my favor
To him that does best: God forbid else! Cardinal."

In regard to II. 4 I am quite at odds with Mr. Sykes. When he compares Katharine's speech with Theocrine's in IV. 1 of *The Unnatural Combat*, and asks, "Could there be anything more striking than the resemblance of these two speeches in tone, phrasing, and metre?" I can

only reply that they would never strike me as being from the one mint. Nor do the arguments for the presence of Massinger in III. 1 and 2 impress me. The verse of the former is markedly Fletcherian; and in the latter it is extraordinary to find lines like

> "My prayers to heaven for you, my loyalty,
> Which ever has and ever shall be growing,
> Till death, that winter, kill it"

treated as characteristic of Massinger. The parallels produced seem to me to bear no resemblance; and surely the lines themselves are infinitely more reminiscent of the manner of Fletcher than that of Massinger. The remaining scenes call for no remark; but some general criticism of Mr. Sykes' methods and conclusions by Professor Baldwin Maxwell, in "Modern Philology," February, 1926, is not to be overlooked. This critic, arguing that the resemblances between *Henry VIII* and Massinger's plays are the outcome of that dramatist's habit of borrowing from Shakespeare, points out that he borrows as heavily from *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Coriolanus* as from *Henry VIII*; that the three or four Massinger plays in which Sykes finds the greatest number of parallels to *Henry VIII* were all written after the appearance of the Shakespeare folio of 1623, which was presumably the source; and that, instead of the influence of Shakespeare being most obvious in Massinger in his earlier period, as is necessary for the acceptance of Sykes' case, it is most marked in such comparatively late plays as *The Great Duke of Florence* (1627) and *The Emperor of the East* (1630-1). This criticism is very destructive of Mr. Sykes' position.

I shall now proceed to set out my division of the play:

S—I. 1, II. 4, III. 2b (four speeches preceding King's exit), IV. 1b (First Gentleman's longest speech), V. 1
Fl—I. 3b, 4, II. 1a (to Buckingham's exit), III. 1, 2c, IV. 1a, c, 2, V. 2-5
M—I. 3a (two speeches)
S and Fl—II. 3, III. 2a
S and M—I. 2
Fl and M—II. 1b, 2

Of the authorship of the prologue and the epilogue I am not so certain as I was; but I am still inclined to think them Massinger's. They are marked by a couple of notable rhymes, "see"—"story" in the one, and "in" —"women" in the other. There are also in the play itself some constructions worth noting—"Was reckoned one the wisest prince" (IV. 4), "Spoke one the least word that" (IV. 4), "And a soul none better in my kingdom" (V. 1), "You speak of two the most remark'd i' the kingdom" (V. 1), "How have ye done since last we saw in France?" (I. 1).

I have accepted the theory of Massinger's revision; but I do not feel too confident that I am right in doing so. A few of Mr. Sykes' parallels are weighty; but the play contains very little of the characteristic style of the dramatist. My conclusion that his work was confined to the interpolation of brief passages here and there seems to me to account for the phenomena better than any other. It may be that the revision was made very shortly after 1613, which may help to explain why his touch is less easy to distinguish than usual.

Fleay gives but three scenes to Shakespeare; and Bul-

len says the play "appears to be in the main" the work of Fletcher and Massinger, "some Shaksperean passages (notably the trial-scene of Katharine) having been incorporated." Ward also thinks Shakespeare's part very small. H. Conrad, who regards the play as "Fletcher's Werk, überarbeitet von Shakespeare" ("Englische Studien," volume LII), gives Fletcher the prologue, I. 3, II. 2, III. 2 (from the King's exit), IV. 1, 2 (with a little Shakespeare), V. 2-5; Fletcher and Shakespeare jointly, I. 4, II. 1, III. 1; and the rest to Shakespeare. Gayley gives Shakespeare part of at least five scenes; Fletcher, the rest. Mr. P. E. More, working on the "ye" test, allows Fletcher I. 4, II. 1, 2, III. 1, 2 (from the King's exit), IV. 1, 2, V. 3, 4, 5, and doubtfully I. 3 and V. 2.

Finally, attention must be paid to the views of Mr. Baldwin Maxwell. He argues against Fletcher's authorship on these grounds: (1) the pronounced verbal borrowing from Holinshed is not in accord with his practice, especially as displayed in *Bonduca,* his one play based upon the chronicler's work; (2) the use of "maxims, proverbs, and concisely worded observations upon human nature" is opposed to his habit; (3) the employment of "an involved and parenthetical mode of construction" is uncommon in his work; (4) the percentage of run-on lines is heavier than is usual with him; (5) the marked Fletcherian habit of repetition of words is very slightly in evidence; (6) the only parallels known to Mr. Maxwell between Fletcher's work and the non-Shakespearean part of *Henry VIII* are one in *Philaster* (V. 3)—

> "All your better deeds
> Shall be in water writ, but this in marble"—

which seems to be echoed in

> "Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues
> We write in water"
>
> (IV. 2),

and one in Fletcher's lines "Upon an Honest Man's Fortune," which need not concern us, because it is itself the echo.

To take the last point first, I may say that it would not trouble me if there were not a single parallel; but, as a matter of fact, there are at least two others. With "I shall fall like a bright exhalation" (III. 2) may be compared "Fall like spent exhalations," in *Thierry and Theodoret*, IV. 1; and, more important, I venture to think, because not at all likely to invite copying, the repetition of the phrase "running banquet" (which occurs in both I. 4 and V. 4) in V. 4 of *The Loyal Subject*. Hickson pointed out the Fletcherian use of "one" as a substantive, "thousand" without the article, and "else" at the end of a clause; while Mr. C. Knox Pooler has rightly described "a long farewell" as one of Fletcher's cherished phrases. (Shakespeare has "Iris, long farewell" in *Antony*, V. 2; but this is a solitary instance.) As regards the third, fourth, and fifth arguments, I quite admit that the Fletcherian characteristics are here in greatly modified form. As I remarked in "E. S.," "Fletcher seems more in earnest (because, I suppose, he was more on his mettle) here than elsewhere; and in consequence we have here his best work. Beaumont apparently exercised a certain amount of good influence over him; but Shakspere seems to have exercised more." But, though pruned down, the character-

istics are there. They may occur much less frequently than ordinarily in Fletcher's work; but they are of the peculiar Fletcher quality. If, as I maintain, the style of the verse is decidedly Fletcher's, then the importance of Mr. Maxwell's first two points vanishes. I admit, however, that the point regarding the use of sources is a strong one. Why Fletcher should here have departed from his usual custom is a question I cannot answer: my reply is, that he did it; and that I do not know why.

If my division of the play be right, we have Massinger seen as a late reviser, interlarding with matter of his own the work of both Shakespeare and Fletcher; but also there seem to be indications that Shakespeare's work was done prior to Fletcher's. Perhaps all three of the Shakespeare-Fletcher plays of 1613 were fixed up by Fletcher from earlier drafts by the master.

### 41. *Julius Cæsar.*

Here we have to consider a play that but one critic has ever seen fit to award in part to either of our authors. I take it with the others because I believe that this solitary investigator is right—not wholly so; but sufficiently so for the play to be regarded as having a just claim to a place among the Beaumont dramas.

The investigator to whom I have referred is Mr. William Wells, and his work on the subject is entitled "The Authorship of *Julius Cæsar*," which was published in 1923. The previous year had witnessed the issue of the first part of Mr. J. M. Robertson's "Shakespeare Canon," in which also the question of the author-

ship of *Julius Cæsar* had been considered with the entire freedom from conventional views characteristic of that writer. He considers that the play was "originated, apparently by Marlowe, before 1590," that "in 1595 or soon after" a revision was made, "in which apparently Drayton as well as Chapman shared"; that, at that stage, "the play ended with the present third act, which would be the fifth of the original"; that there was a sequel play, which Shakespeare (who had also been concerned in the earlier revision) revised in or before 1607; and that, finally, either soon afterwards or after Shakespeare's death, the two plays were compressed into one by Jonson. It is a complicated theory; but it is not necessarily a false one. Wells' view is that the play was written by Marlowe in or about 1589; that in writing it Marlowe had in view the circumstances attending the assassination of the Duke of Guise at the close of 1588 (a subject which he afterwards dealt with in *The Massacre at Paris*); that of this play Shakespeare began a revision in or about 1609, but for some unknown reason abandoned it; and that Beaumont was then called in to finish the work, being given the Marlowe play, Shakespeare's fragment, and Plutarch's "Lives," with which to do the best he could. Wells' division of the play on this theory of its construction gives the first fifty-seven lines to Shakespeare, and V. 2 and the first twenty-two lines of V. 3, and, doubtfully, II. 3 and 4, to Beaumont, sharing the rest between the oldest and the youngest of the three writers. He holds that Marlowe's work was largely based on Lucan; the others' on Plutarch. Mr. Robertson and Mr. Wells agree in depriving Shakespeare of the credit of Mark Antony's great harangue.

I had myself, many years before (in "Modern Language Review," October, 1908), put forward views that, though mild in comparison with those of the two investigators to whom I have just referred, were antagonistic to the conservative ones generally held. I argued that there had plainly been much curtailment and alteration, as indicated by the number of times characters on the stage had nothing to say, the giving of the name Lepidus to two different characters, the confounding of Lucius with Lucilius, and the addressing of two non-characters, Labeo and Flavius, in V. 3, instead of the mute Strato and Volumnius; and that there was stuff in V. 3 that manifestly belonged to the early days of the drama. I treated it as early matter of Shakespeare's, to whom I conceded the entire play. I have no doubt that I was wrong, that I did not go far enough.

Some twenty years before my own article was written, Fleay had put forward the radical suggestion that Shakespeare's play had been in two parts, and that Jonson had compressed them into one, the play as it has come down to us. Of the many arguments he advanced, the following are the most convincing: the name Antony is so spelled nowhere else in Shakespeare, though it occurs in seven other plays, but is so spelled by Jonson; the phrase "bear me hard," met with in Jonson's *Catiline* (IV. 5), is found in I. 2, II. 1, and III. 1, but nowhere else in Shakespeare; the great number of short lines where no pause is required are an indication of abridgment; and Jonson in his "Discoveries" derides Shakespeare for making Cæsar say

"Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause,"

whereas in the play the passage stands:

> "Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
> Will he be satisfied,"

the passage having presumably been corrected by Jonson. These four arguments have some force against the custom of regarding the play as wholly Shakespeare's; but they do not go very far toward helping us to see the hand of Jonson.

The play is distinctly referred to in Weever's "Mirror of Martyrs," published in 1601, but claimed in the dedication to have been "made fit for the print" some two years previously. There are also references to it in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599); therefore a date later than 1598 is practically out of the question. As Meres (September 7, 1598) does not mention it among the plays of Shakespeare, we have the date within very close limits, if it be entirely Shakespeare's; though it may be urged that, if the original play was as wooden as V. 2 and 3 and a few passages elsewhere would serve to indicate, it need not cause surprise if Meres did not think it worthy of mention. The more reasonable deduction, however, is that, if the play was then in existence, it was not mainly Shakespeare's. In many parts the language is archaic; the verse is equally old-fashioned; and the dramatic technique is of a kind that had long dropped out of use by 1600. Bradley tried to account for the simplicity of the language by supposing that Shakespeare was endeavoring to fit it to his conception of the manners of republican Rome; but not only did Shakespeare never do this, but, as Wells points out, *Coriolanus*, dealing with an even ruder age, employs the

same language as *Antony and Cleopatra*. And, moreover, while Bradley fails to account for the simplicity of the language, his argument touches not at all upon the verse's stylistic out-of-dateness.

I feel confident that some of the verse in *Julius Cæsar* dates back to at least 1590. Is there then any reason afforded by external evidence for such early dating? Yes, there is some. In Peele's *Edward I* and in Marlowe's *Edward II* (and, as Robertson points out, also, though less markedly, in *Alphonsus of Aragon* and *Henry V*) there are references to a scene of the entry of Rome by Cæsar as a conqueror. That no such scene is found in the existing play may either mean that these are references to some other drama or indicate that this play has undergone revision. Marlowe has another allusion in *The Massacre:*

> "As Cæsar to his soldiers, so say I:
> Those that hate me will I learn to loathe."

There are also three allusions to Cassius in Greene's *Orlando* and *Friar Bacon* and Peele's *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, and all bear the appearance of being references to current drama; and the last-mentioned play further refers, in the lines

> "Methinks I now present Mark Anthony
> Folding dead Julius Cæsar in his arms,"

to an occurrence that, if once it had a place in the play, is no longer there. Finally, as Wells has pointed out, Marlowe in *The Massacre* has taken from II. 2 of *Julius Cæsar* the words "Yet Cæsar shall go forth." One can hardly regard so markedly Cæsarian a reference as be-

ing taken from *The Massacre* for *Julius Cæsar;* and one must also bear in mind Wells' view that in the former play Marlowe "had Cæsar in mind when dealing with the happenings to the Guise." Further, we have in Greene's autobiographical narrative "Never too Late" (1590) a distinct reference to a play of Marlowe's in which occurred the words "Ave, Cæsar"; and a passage in *Orlando,* already referred to, tells us that the character using the words was Cassius:

> "He knows the county, like to Cassius,
> Sits, sadly dumping, aiming Cæsar's death,
> Yet crying 'Ave!' to his majesty."

I take it then that there was certainly a play by Marlowe on the subject of Julius Cæsar. What we have next to consider is, whether or not it was the foundation of the existing Shakespearean play.

That there has been a great deal of alteration, interpolation, and abridgment is obvious. As the story is told, the Flavius and Marullus of the opening scene are purposeless characters; of all the numerous characters, but four—Antony, Brutus, Cassius, and Lucius—are common to the two parts into which the play divides itself; Brutus is quite differently characterized in the last two acts from what he is in the first three; his relations with Cassius have altered; and even his motives for the slaying of Cæsar have changed; in IV. 1 we have a lengthy discussion of the demerits of Lepidus, utterly without effect upon the conduct of the drama; in the same scene Publius is spoken of as Antony's nephew, whereas in III. 1 he is represented as an old man; and in IV. 2 there are several inconsistencies: the peace-making poet

comes in to heal a breach that is already healed; Brutus twice calls for a bowl of wine; in the intervening portion (which is held by some critics to be an interpolation) Brutus tells of the death of Portia, of which he hears from Messala a few moments later (the probability being that we have here two alternative versions, both of which, by some bungling, have got into the text). I am inclined to think that originally Brutus got the news from Messala in an earlier scene.

Nor does this list exhaust the total of marks of revision, or at least of dual authorship. Cæsar's character varies with every appearance; Casca in the latter part of I. 2 is unlike what he is elsewhere; II. 3, II. 4, and III. 1 do not hang well together; the finding of the book in IV. 2 probably refers to an incident in a scene which has been dropped; and the appearance of the Ghost at Philippi, referred to in the closing scene, may originally have been shown, especially as it has been promised.

Robertson gives some strong reasons for accepting the Fleay theory of a reduction from two plays to one. The space allotted to Cæsar "answers neither to any fit conception of plan nor to Shakspere's practice"; the stories told against him by Cassius in I. 2 are inventions of the dramatist for his disparagement, and, unless his purpose was belittlement, might be expected only in a play in which the great man had first been shown in his strength; there is a sudden quarrel (covering five lines) between Antony and Octavius in V. 1, not led up to, and leading nowhere. This seems as if it must have been preparation for future strife between the two men in some later part of the play or

in a sequel. It is not without significance that all the allusions to *Julius Cæsar* before the end of the sixteenth century are to the first part. I agree that there was probably a play of Cæsar's tragedy, beginning with his triumph after his victory over Pompey, and ending with his death, and that it continued with a play on the overthrow and death of Cæsar's enemies; and there may even have been a third, showing the subsequent quarrels of Antony and Octavius, an earlier version perhaps of *Antony and Cleopatra.*

That there was an early writer on whom the Shakespearean work was founded I have no doubt. I believe that writer to have been Marlowe. The external evidence points to him; and, though the style is not markedly his, it bears sufficient resemblance to it to be credited to him. It comes nearer to him than to Greene or Kyd or Peele; but I confess to a great unwillingness to father upon him V. 2 and the first twenty-two lines of V. 3. To my utter astonishment, Wells gives these to Beaumont: to me they seem too clumsy and antiquated for Marlowe, and quite out of the question for Beaumont. The absurd duplications do not speak of either. Consider them. Scene 2 consists of six lines. The first begins "Ride, ride, Messala, ride" and the last similarly begins "Ride, ride, Messala." So scene 3 begins "O, look, Titinius, look"; and lines 9-12 are

> "*Pin.* Fly further off, my lord, fly further off:
> Mark Antony is in your tents, my lord.
> Fly therefore, noble Cassius: fly far off.
> *Cas.* This hill is far enough. Look, look,
> Titinius."

If I give such intolerably weak stuff to Marlowe, it is

with great reluctance, and only because I do not like to bring in another author unnecessarily. I am most certain of him in the five lines preceding the Citizens' departure, in I. 1, and the last four lines of the same scene (the rest of which is Shakespeare's), and in Metellus' first speech in II. 1. I should be disinclined to give those lines to any other.

I should dismiss Mr. Wells' assertion of Beaumont's presence were it not for IV. 2. As far as "*Cas.* Chastisement!" is mainly Shakespeare's; but thence to the Poet's exit is almost entirely Beaumont's; and in the mixed work that follows there is this passage, which seems to me pure Beaumont:

> "*Bru.* Bear with me, good boy, I am much forgetful.
> Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes awhile,
> And touch thy instrument a strain or two?
> *Luc.* Ay, my lord, an't please you.
> *Bru.* It does, my boy.
> I trouble thee too much; but thou art willing.
> *Luc.* It is my duty, sir.
> *Bru.* I should not urge thy duty past thy might:
> I know young bloods look for a time of rest.
> *Luc.* I have slept, my lord, already.
> *Bru.* It was well done; and thou shalt sleep again.
> I will not hold thee long. If I do live,
> I will be good to thee.
> This is a sleepy tune.—O, murderous slumber,
> Layst thou thy heavy mace upon my boy,
> That plays thee music?—Gentle knave, good night!
> I will not do thee so much wrong to wake thee.
> If thou dost nod, thou break'st thy instrument.
> I'll take it from thee; and, good boy, good night!"

I fail to understand why Wells claims certain "do" and "did" passages for Beaumont, and not others (*e.g.*,

in II. 2); nor do I understand why he directs attention to "our Cæsar," and ignores "his Brutus," and "your Brutus," and "thy Brutus" in IV. 2 and V. 3.

My division is:

M1—II. 3b (the verse), V. 1a, 2, 3

S—I. 2a (to Cæsar's first exit), c (three speeches preceding Cæsar's reëntry), 3 (containing perhaps a little M1), II. 1a (to "Stands, as the Capitol, directly here"), c (from "*Cas.* Nay, we will all of us"), 2a (to Calpurnia's entry), 3a (the prose), 4, III, IV. 1, V. 1b (last twelve speeches), 4, 5 (probably based on M1)

M1 and S—I. 1, 2d, II. 1b, 2b

S and B—I. 2b, IV. 2 (both outside and inside the tent)

The concluding part of I. 2 (from Cæsar's second exit) may perhaps be based on Marlowe and altered by Beaumont; but it is practically Shakespeare's. The Marlowe in II. 1b consists of only a few lines. In II. 2b the portion between the entry of Decius and the end of the speech during which Publius enters shows no sign of Shakespeare, and the succeeding portion no sign of Marlowe, except for the final speech, which is perhaps his. Though I accord II. 4 to Shakespeare, much of it is not at all reminiscent of him, especially the fifth and sixth speeches of the dialogue between Portia and the Soothsayer; III. 1 and 2 may perhaps be based on Marlowe and altered by Beaumont. I may say here that the great number of full pronunciations of nouns in "-tion" and adjectives in "-tious" are probably to be regarded as an indication of early date.

### 42. *The Two Noble Kinsmen.*

This interesting, but strangely uneven play, magnificent in places, was entered in the Stationers' Register

on April 8, 1634, as by Fletcher and Shakespeare, and was published the same year, as acted by the King's men at Blackfriars, and with an ascription to the two poets named in the Register entry. The only other old edition was that of the second folio. There can be no doubt of the company that performed it; but, before dealing with the question of the date, it may be well to consider the external evidence of authorship.

As stated in the Stationers' Register and on the title-page of the quarto, the play was attributed to Fletcher and Shakespeare. In 1646, however, the publisher, Waterson, transferred it to Moseley as Fletcher's, styling it "The Noble Kinsman." There is no significance in this, since it was but one of three, in all of which Fletcher was concerned (the others being *The Elder Brother* and *Monsieur Thomas*). It no more implies Fletcher's sole authorship than the inclusion in the Shakespeare folio of the *Henry VI* plays implies that those plays were wholly Shakespeare's. The next year it was advertised by Robinson and Moseley, with *The Elder Brother*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Woman-hater*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, *Cupid's Revenge*, and *Monsieur Thomas*, as by Beaumont and Fletcher; and in 1661 it was listed in an advertisement of plays written by those two authors, with *Wit without Money*, *The Night-walker*, *The Opportunity*, *The Coronation*, *The Elder Brother*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *Rollo*, *Rule a Wife*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, *The Woman-hater*, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, its name being once again given as "The Noble Kinsman." The facts that Moseley in these two lists and in two intermediate ones advertised the play as by Beaumont and Fletcher and that

it subsequently found its way into the Beaumont and Fletcher second folio need not be held to add very materially to Fletcher's claim, nor even to greatly detract from Shakespeare's; but it does raise a faint possibility of Beaumont's being concerned in it. There is one circumstance in connection with the announcement at the end of some copies of Shirley's "Six New Plays" (1653) that may be worthy of note. It is described as "written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gent." (as also in the 1647 advertisement). Does the use of the final word indicate that the attribution dates back to Fletcher's lifetime? Any weight the ascription may have lies in the fact that Moseley was the publisher of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays.

If inclusion in the 1679 folio means nothing more than a confirmation that Fletcher was concerned in it, what importance is to be attached to the omission of the play from all four Shakespeare folios? In my opinion, very little. Fleay took a contrary view. Why, he asked, was it omitted even from the 1663 folio, if Shakespeare had a hand in it? There may be several explanations of the circumstance. Already published as partly Fletcher's, it may have been looked upon as mainly his; it differed from the spurious work gathered into that collection in that it had not been published in Shakespeare's own lifetime over either his name or his initials, and the ignorant editors may have supposed that that fact made it of inferior authority; there may have been copyright difficulties; or it may simply have been overlooked. The following other points bearing upon the authorship of the play are at least worthy of record. Pope speaks of a tradition that the play was

wholly Shakespeare's. The value to be accorded to that statement or to that tradition may be judged by his informing us that another attributed *The Troublesome Reign of King John* to Shakespeare and Rowley jointly. Steevens, a Shakespeare editor of a later generation, speaks of "a playhouse tradition that the first act was written by Shakspere"; and, as that is a view entirely borne out (in my judgment) by the internal evidence, there may be something in it. In Kirkman's catalogue of 1671, it is allotted to Fletcher; but Langbaine credits it to Fletcher and Shakespeare. The quarto of 1634 (with MS. corrections of the text) has been found bound up with quartos of *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives*, *Much Ado*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Richard III*, all in quartos of Shakespeare's time. The collector may merely have gone on the title-page attribution; but it is at least evident that he entertained no doubt of its correctness; and in that connection it is worth while to remark that Waterson's ascriptions in the Stationers' Register are not such as to arouse the slightest suspicion of his honesty. On the whole, then, it must be said that the evidence for Fletcher is fairly good, and that that for Shakespeare is not to be brushed aside as worthless.

The date of production was almost certainly 1613. Littledale and Thorndike have shown definitely that the May dance in III. 5 and some of the characters in it have been borrowed, or stolen, from Beaumont's Masque of 1612-3. There seems also to be a reference to the play in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (Octo-

ber, 1614). "My word," says one of the characters, "is out of the 'Arcadia,' then, Argalus"; to which comes the reply, "And mine, out of the play, Palemon"; but the allusion here may be to Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*, where also there is a Palæmon. The good reason that there is for dating the play 1613 is, if we are prepared to admit the coöperation of Shakespeare and Fletcher, greatly strengthened by the consideration that it was in that year that both *Henry VIII* and *Cardenio*, two other Fletcher-Shakespeare plays, were produced. If we are not prepared to make such an admission, we must at least think it a singular coincidence that a play falsely ascribed to the two poets should date from the same year as two other plays in which they were connected.

It has been suggested that the play may be a rewriting of a *Palamon and Arcite* presented by the Chamberlain's men (afterwards the King's men) in 1594 and 1596. That is not impossible; but, if so, I judge that none of the original work is left. What is more probable is that the play, as it has come down to us, contains revisory work done some years after 1613. The quarto is evidently printed from a prompt copy, and it tells us that two small parts were taken by Curtis (that is to say, Curtis Greville), and one by "T. Tucke" (obviously an abbreviation of the name of Thomas Tuckfield). We are thus enabled to date within fairly narrow limits the prompt copy from which the quarto was printed, since Greville was with the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1622, and from them went to the Palsgrave's. Tuckfield figures in a list of the King's company's non-sharers in 1624, when Greville was still not a member; but the latter had a part in *The Roman*

*Actor,* licensed October 11, 1626. Tuckfield's name cannot be traced later than that, and he seems not to have been in *The Lover's Melancholy* (November, 1628). This gives us, as Mr. Lawrence has shown, a date not earlier than 1624 and not later than 1628.

But, though the play thus comes to us as it was presented in or about 1625 or 1626, it does not follow that it was revised then, or at any time. That question must be determined by the internal evidence; but, before going into that, it will be advisable to give some consideration to the prologue. This has been the source of very divergent ideas. Lawrence, declaring that he followed Boyle and Sykes "to some extent" ("Times Literary Supplement," July 15, 1921), believed that Fletcher alone was responsible for the play in the first place (in 1613), and that it was rewritten by Massinger some thirteen or fourteen years later, but that, though the text was revised, the prologue was the original one.[1] In this connection, he stated that no scholar had hitherto suspected that the association of Massinger with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was "matter of belated revision rather than of original collaboration." In point of fact, I had argued in favor of that view in "E. S.," some thirty years previously. The grounds for Mr. Lawrence's argument are that the prologue speaks of the play as the work of a single writer, and that the closing lines "clearly" refer to the burning of the Globe. Now, it is amusing to note that it was precisely on the strength of the allusion to a single "wrighter" and the hint in the closing lines that Fleay decided that the

[1] Of his later view I have something to say farther on.

prologue was for a late revival. These closing lines are:

> "If this play do not keep
> A little dull time from us, we perceive
> Our losses fall so thick, we must needs leave."

Fleay took this to be a reference to the trouble over Middleton's *Game at Chess* and an anticipation of the company's having to leave London. Lawrence's view seems to me the sounder, since the prologue certainly claims to be for a new play. Fleay got over that by supposing that the first production took place in 1625—a supposition which cannot be entertained. Does, then, the prologue constitute a proof that Fletcher wrote the play alone (at first), Shakespeare having nothing to do with it? It certainly tends in that direction; but I scarcely think that more than that is to be said: the singular may, indeed, have been used only for the sake of the rhyme. Chaucer, the "breeder" of the story, will, it is feared, say,

> "Oh, fan
> From me the witless chaff of such a writer,
> That blasts my bays, and my famed works makes lighter
> Than Robin Hood";

or, it may be, if Fletcher worked alone on a play begun by Shakespeare and handed over to him for completion, that he felt justified in using the singular. The matter ought to be determinable—or, at least, we ought to be brought nearer a determination—by the internal evidence; but it does not help us much. The epilogue is quite clearly Fletcher's. All that is to be said of the prologue is, that it is not Shakespeare's. I should be rather more inclined to ascribe it to Massinger than to

Fletcher; but the latter better fits the requirements, and I think it must be attributed to him, though it bears little resemblance to his style. (The mere fact of its being in rhyme would sufficiently account for that.)

Fleay gave the play to Fletcher, Massinger, and another, who might be Middleton; Boyle, to Fletcher and Massinger; Bullen, to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Massinger, his idea being that Shakespeare wrote additions for a revival of the old play of *Palamon and Arcite,* which came into the hands of Fletcher and Massinger after Shakespeare's death, Massinger interpolating his work in some of the Shakespeare passages. Among the supporters of the Shakespeare-Fletcher theory were Lamb, Coleridge, De Quincey, Dyce, Nicholson, Hickson, Littledale, Ingleby, Dowden, Hudson, Swinburne, Skeat, Hargrove, Furness, and Ingram; among those who have repudiated the idea of Shakespeare's participation were Hazlitt, Shelley, Knight, and Halliwell-Phillipps. Spalding was one of the first advocates of the Fletcher-Shakespeare theory; but later he declared the problem insoluble. Rolfe, as far back as 1880, was the first champion of the claims of Massinger instead of Shakespeare; and Sykes is the chief supporter of that view to-day. Tucker Brooke prefers it to the Shakespeare-Fletcher theory; but Chelli declares against Massinger; and so does Cruickshank, who thinks that the play was by Fletcher, Shakespeare, and a hack, "who wrote at any rate most of the first act." In the course of his monograph on "Massinger and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*" this critic propounds two or three different views, of which this is but one.

Another is the truly extraordinary one, that it was first written by "someone who was acquainted with the metrical style found in Shakspere's later work and in Tourneur, a style which rejoiced in run-on lines and double endings. It can therefore hardly have been written much before 1607, the date of *The Revenger's Tragedy*." The rest is "clumsy and contorted poetry, quite unlike" Massinger. Then he is "much tempted to believe that what is poor in the non-Fletcher parts is taken over from an old play, and what is good is due to the great mind of Beaumont." In Fletcher's part, "III. 5 and V. 2 may owe a good deal to some early source." Finally, "there are distinct grounds for assuming that *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is based on an already existing Elizabethan drama. The simplest explanation is to suppose that Beaumont collaborated with Fletcher." He considers that "the great difficulty of the play is the discrepancy between the styles of I and V." Elsewhere ("Times Literary Supplement," August 11, 1921) he suggested that Shakespeare began the play, which was then taken in hand by Beaumont and Fletcher. R. W. Moorman sees the hand of Shakespeare. T. M. Parrott and J. M. Robertson both deny Massinger's presence, and the former (and apparently the latter also) regards the play as wholly Shakespeare and Fletcher's. This is also Wells' attitude, and Thaler's. W. E. Farnham examined the play to ascertain how the use of colloquial contractions coincided with the work of Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Massinger. In the non-Fletcherian parts, he found the habit to be entirely in accord with that of Shakespeare, and utterly at variance with that of Massinger, there being

in 1060 lines as many as eighty-two contractions, whereas there is never half that number in an entire play of Massinger's. Thorndike is a strong advocate of the Shakespeare-Fletcher authorship; nor will he have it that Fletcher merely finished Shakespeare's uncompleted work. "The scenes which Shakespeare wrote," he argues, "show a knowledge of the whole course of the dramatic action. . . . Each scene is by itself complete and elaborate, utterly unlike unfinished work. It does not seem possible therefore that these scenes represent a play which he had begun and left thus unfinished." He admits, however, that Fletcher seems to have "made some additions and in some places to have retouched Shakspere's work." Bierfreund brought up a new view by pronouncing the play to be a joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher; and, in connection with this opinion, it is interesting to recollect the external evidence (not very strong, to be sure) connecting the former with the play, and also the fact that the anti-masque has been taken from his "Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne." Finally, H. D. Gray compromises by attributing the play to Beaumont, Fletcher, and Shakespeare, all three. He has a complicated theory that Fletcher began it, got Beaumont's assistance, and eventually got "the kindly Shakespeare" to revise it. It may be mentioned too that Fleay, who had abandoned the idea of Shakespeare's participation, to adopt Boyle's Massinger theory, dropped that on more mature consideration, adopting Beaumont instead, his final view being that Beaumont and Fletcher wrote the play about 1611, that Fletcher revised it in 1625, and that William Rowley was responsible for the first part of II. 1 and for IV. 3.

My own "E. S." determination resembled Boyle's in giving a share to Massinger; but, unlike him and Fleay, I never denied a share to Shakespeare. My allotment to Massinger amounted only to revisory work in the first act.[2] Even that I am no longer prepared to grant him. Except for this and the introduction of Beaumont, my alterations are but slight, my present division being:

S—I, II. 1a (to Daughter's exit), III. 1-2, V. 1b-3, 5, 6
Fl—II. 1b-5, III. 3-5a, 6, IV. 1, 2, V. 1a (to Theseus' exit), 4
B—III. 5b (from the Countrymen's exit), IV. 3

In I. 1 the line

"And as you wish your womb may thrive with fair ones"

is very Fletcherian; but it is not necessary to suppose the presence of Fletcher there on account of it. I see but two passages the manner of which recalls to me Massinger. One is in I. 2:

"Phœbus, when
He broke his whipstock and exclaim'd against
The horses of the sun, but whisper'd, to
The loudness of his fury."

The other is almost at the close of I. 1:—

"*Second Queen.* And earn'st a deity
Equal with Mars
*Third Queen.* If not above him."

[2] My division was:
Fl—(?) I. 1a (song), II. 1b-5, III. 3-6, IV. 1-2, V. 1a (to Theseus' exit), 4
S—I. 1b, II. 1a (to Daughter's exit), III. 1, 2, V. 1b-3, 5, 6
Fl and S—IV. 3
S and M—I. 1c (from "*Hip.* Though much unlike")-4
On I. 5 I ventured no opinion. My former II. 2 I now take as forming part of II. 1; and I divide my former V. 1 into three scenes.

This is very like Massinger's manner of splitting up his remarks between his characters, and also like him in tone; but it is not to be supposed that he inserted these two brief passages in scenes that are very characteristically Shakespeare's.

But Mr. Sykes sees Massinger's hand in quite a number of scenes. His argument consists of the quoting of parallel passages between this play and several of Massinger's. Concerning one of them, he says, "This parallel alone should be conclusive of Massinger's authorship," quite ignoring the possibility of its being a case of imitation of Shakespeare by Massinger. Here is this "conclusive" parallel:

> "Though I know
> His ocean needs not my poor drops"
> (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. iii);
>
> "Though I know
> The ocean of your apprehensions needs not
> The rivulet of my poor cautions."
> (*Believe as you list*, V. 1.)

It is a parallel well worth noting; but conclusive? scarcely! It is, indeed, by far the most remarkable quoted—as a matter of cold fact, the only one that really counts. Some are very weak. Take this, for example:

> "His brow
> Is grav'd, and seems to bury what it frowns on"
> (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. 3.)
>
> "Shall, I say, these virtues,
> So many and so various trials of
> Your constant mind, be buried in the frown
> (To please you I will say so) of a fair woman?"
> (*The Duke of Milan*, IV. 3.)

This is a parallel only on a definition providing that the two constituents shall not meet at any point. If I come to a very different conclusion on this question to that arrived at by Mr. Sykes, it is because our criteria of judgment are "far as the poles asunder." Admitting that the style is unlike Massinger's, he yet gives the non-Fletcherian portions of the play to him, on the ground that they are "full of marks of his mentality and phrasing." That seems to me like arguing that a letter which echoes the ideas of Mr. Lloyd George and employs some of his common expressions must have been written by him, though it is in another handwriting. Similarly, he admits that the style of these portions of the play is Shakespeare's, but yet denies them to him. Mr. Sykes has done much admirable work, but not, I venture to assert, on this play. Mr. J. M. Robertson urges, rightly, I think, that the "Mars armipotent" speech in the last act is utterly beyond the reach of Massinger; and, he might have added, so is the invocation of Emilia, which Mr. Sykes specifically quotes as Massinger's.

*The Two Noble Kinsmen* is a somewhat long play; but it gives at least one hint of abbreviation. In the opening scene Artesius makes his only appearance, and, though he is addressed, he is mute. It may be noted that in II. 2 Arcas is not one of the four countrymen, and that in III. 5 he is. I am not aware that attention has ever been directed to the inversions the play contains. Note "Troubled I am" (I. 1); "Rings she made" (IV. 2). Such inversions are also to be found in *Henry VIII:* "To the King I'll say it" (I. 1); "Papers of state he sent me" (III. 2). Nor do I fancy that the

great use of "yea" in the sense of "more than that" has ever been pointed out, though I think I am right in saying that it is not frequent in other dramatists than Shakespeare. It occurs here twice in III. 1, thrice in V. 1b, and once in V. 6.[3] It is to be found also in *Henry VIII*, once in I. 1, once in I. 2, seven times in II. 4; in *Julius Cæsar*, once in IV. 2; in *Cymbeline*, in I. 5, I. 6, II. 3, III. 4, and twice in III. 7; in *The Tempest*, in I. 2, III. 3, and IV. 1; twice in "Lucrece"; and once each in *The Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. This is then a characteristically Shakespearean expression, used mainly in his later period; and its occurrence here is therefore not without significance. Its importance as testimony rests upon its literary unimportance. Except the hardened imitator that some investigators are so fond of imagining, no one was likely to copy so insignificant a trick.

Mr. P. E. More, working on the "ye" test, disagrees with me in regard to V. 2, which he gives to Fletcher, and II. 4 and III. 3, which he allots to the other author, whom he thinks more like Chapman than any other. There are, however, several scenes concerning which he expresses no opinion, because they afford no scope for the employment of his test.

Parrott holds that Shakespeare's relation to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* resembles very closely his relation to *Henry VIII*, his incomplete work in each case being taken over by Fletcher. That work he believes to have been done erratically and spasmodically: though his hand is visible in every act of *Henry VIII*, save IV,

[3] Also once in III. 5, where I do not claim it to be Shakespeare's.

nowhere is it seen in more than two consecutive scenes, and several actions are left incomplete; and similarly in this play, while I and V are mainly his, on II and III he started work only to drop it, and in IV he did at most a single scene. Cruickshank's view is that Shakespeare contributed only a small element to the play, the two prose scenes, II. 1 and IV. 3, adding "It is very tempting to ascribe much of Act V to him." He regards the styles of *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* as "absolutely disparate. The outstanding feature about the latter play is its archaic flavor" ("Times Literary Supplement," January 15, 1920). Macaulay allotted Fletcher II. 3-5, III. 3-6, IV. 1-2, V. 4. The opinions of other critics are shown in the following table based mainly on a compilation in the Globe Shakespeare:

Prologue and epilogue—Fl: Littledale
I. 1—S: Spalding, Hickson
S (except the song): Dowden, Nicholson, Furnivall, Hargrove, (?) Littledale
2—S: Spalding
S, revised by Fl: Dyce, Skeat, Swinburne, Littledale
Fl (?revised by S): Hickson
3-4—S: Spalding, Hickson, Littledale
5—S: Spalding, Hickson
? Fl: Littledale
II. 1a—S: Coleridge, Hickson, Littledale
Fl: Spalding, Dyce
1b-5—Fl: Spalding, Hickson, Dyce, Littledale
III. 1—S: Spalding, Hickson
Mostly S: Littledale
2—S: Hickson
S, touched by Fl: Littledale
Not Fl: Furnivall
Fl: Spalding, Dyce
3-6—Fl: Spalding, Hickson, Dyce, Littledale

IV. 1-2—Fl: Spalding, Hickson, Dyce, Littledale
3—S: Hickson, Fleay
S, touched by Fl: Littledale
Fl: Spalding, Dyce
V. 1a—S: Spalding, Hickson
Fl: Skeat, Littledale, Fleay
1b-3—S: Spalding, Hickson, Skeat, Littledale
4—Fl: Spalding, Hickson, Dyce, Littledale, Fleay
5-6—S: Spalding, Hickson
S, interpolated by Fl: Littledale

Swinburne considered that both Shakespeare and Fletcher were concerned in the final scene. Thorndike accepts Littledale's division, save that he sees Fletcher as well as Shakespeare in the last twenty lines of I. 4. My own chief difference with Littledale (save in my recognition of Beaumont) is that he sees both Fletcher and Shakespeare in the last forty lines of V. 5.

It is indicative of Fletcher's authorship of IV. 2 that the expression "smoother than Pelops' shoulder" is paralleled in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, III. 2 ("Smooth as Pelop's shoulder"). Shakespeare's presence has been so widely recognized that it may suffice to refer to the numerous examples of his characteristic constructions in I. 2 (lines 58-60, 71, 95-8, 100-1, to name but a few taken at random in a scene that is itself taken at random), and to quote a couple of passages:

> "Remember that your fame
> Knolls in the ear o' th' world. What you do quickly
> Is not done rashly. Your first thought is more
> Than others' laboured meditance; your premeditating
> More than their actions; but, oh, Jove! your actions,
> Soon as they move, as ospreys do the fish,
> Subdue before they touch." (I. 1.)

"Oh, sacred, shadowy, cold, and constant queen,
Abandoner of revels, mute, contemplative,
Sweet, solitary, white as chaste, and pure
As wind-fann'd snow, who to thy female knights
Allow'st no more blood than will make a blush,
Which is their order's robe: I here, thy priest,
Am humbled 'fore thine altar. Oh, vouchsafe,
With that thy rare green eye, which never yet
Beheld thing maculate, look on thy virgin!
And, sacred silver mistress, lend thine ear
(Which ne'er heard scurril term, into whose port
Ne'er entered wanton sound) to my petition
Season'd with holy fear! This is my last
Of vestal office: I am bride-habited,
But maiden-hearted."

(V. 3.)

These extracts seem to me not merely to be the work of Shakespeare, but to be Shakespeare at his best. That any one else could have written them is (to me) incredible. To deny the play to Shakespeare because the characterization is not up to his level is, in the face of the evidence of the verse, unwarranted. There are not lacking among his acknowledged plays some that are wanting on that score; but they are not questioned therefor. It is not only the run of the verse, the compressed and elliptical methods of utterance that stamp the work as his; but also the sovereign way in which words are bent to his purpose, the boldness of the imagery, the grandeur of the thought. It is easier to imagine Shakespeare falling below his own high standard in respect of characterization than to imagine any other attaining the full height of the master in all the other respects which I have mentioned. The much-suggested Massinger could not come within measurable distance

of the play's attainment in any one of these regards. It is to be noted that I do not see Shakespeare and Fletcher together in a single scene (though the first speech after Arcite's entry in the closing scene looks like Fletcher). That seems to imply collaboration rather than revision. Had there been no reason for dating the play 1613, I should have supposed the Fletcher to be somewhat earlier than that year; but that is perhaps explainable by a similar pruning of his excesses to that which we have already seen cause to suspect in *Henry VIII*.

Before proceeding to discuss the presence of Beaumont, I must say a word or two regarding a late communication from Mr. W. J. Lawrence. Referring to C. E. Andrews' "Richard Brome," he says:

> Andrews points out, relative to the methods put in practice by the doctor for the cure of love-melancholy in IV. 3 and V. 2, that they are derived from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," which was first published in 1621. The inference would be that these two scenes were revised later. In accord with this, my theory now would be that Shakspere and Fletcher originally wrote the play in 1613, and that a third hand revised it later. I do not think that Fletcher was the reviser, because I am strongly of the opinion that revisers' names were never—or hardly ever—put on the title-pages as part-authors. I shall stick sturdily to that opinion until strong proof is advanced to the contrary. Failure to grasp that has, I think, led to fruitful blundering.

I am not in entire agreement with my esteemed correspondent. It will be noticed that, by the abandonment of his earlier idea (based on the wording of the prologue) that Fletcher first wrote the play alone, Lawrence has come more in line with me; but in other respects our views still remain opposed. If the latter part

of IV. 3 and V. 2 be indeed based on Burton's work, late revision is not to be denied; but I am not completely convinced that there is this indebtedness. If Burton was not putting forth original views of his own, but merely expressing the ideas of his time, there is no need to infer reliance upon him, unless it can be shown that his very language has been employed. If, however, the indebtedness to Burton be assumed, I see no reason why Fletcher should not be regarded as the reviser. Though I do not go so far as Mr. Lawrence in regard to the conjunction of the names of original authors and revisers on title-pages, I agree with him that in the majority of cases they were not bracketed together; but, if Fletcher was both an original author and a reviser, my correspondent's objection would not apply. Though I trust that in this work I am displaying no spirit of unwarranted cocksureness and showing no tendency to absurd dogmatism, I cannot help feeling certain that there is to be found in this play the work of no other than the three I have named as participators. If, then, there has been late revision (and I by no means deny its probability), I consider that it was effected by Fletcher in or about 1625, though it is against that view that the verse is not characteristic of Fletcher's latest period.

Now I must give my reasons for believing in the participation of Beaumont, a view to which I have come somewhat reluctantly, and of the correctness of which I do not feel absolutely certain. What I do feel sure of is that a better case can be made out for Beaumont than for Massinger. The burlesque nonsense in the latter part of III. 5 is much more like Beaumont than

like Fletcher, and this portion of the scene shows none of the marked characteristics of Fletcher that the earlier portion displays. Moreover, the May dance is clearly a repetition of the anti-masque in Beaumont's masque of 1612-3, of which that writer showed himself inordinately proud. It may, of course, have been lifted in by Fletcher as a compliment to his friend; but, as I have said, it shows none of his characteristics. One may note that Gerrold, speaking of the stag-hunt, expresses a wish that the ladies may eat the animal's dowcets, and that in IV. 2 of *Philaster* (a Beaumont scene) Pharamond is said to "give ten groats for the dowcets" of the deer; but I do not wish to attach undue importance to this circumstance.

It is the latter part of IV. 3 (from the Daughter's exit) that speaks most clearly of Beaumont. The earlier part might be either Shakespeare's or Beaumont's. If Beaumont were not present, it could be given to the greater poet without much hesitation; but, with Beaumont in the remainder of the scene, his authorship of this part also is hardly to be questioned. There are several indications of his handiwork. Beaumont, like Robert Browning, "likes to dock the smaller parts of speech." An example of this is afforded by the Jailer's first utterance. He is fond, too, of such inventories as we are given in the Daughter's third speech. The same character's final speech is very characteristic of him in other ways; and the expression "leprous witch" is more easily ascribable to him than to Shakespeare, who is the only other whom I can admit as a candidate for the authorship of this part of the play. The references to Giraldo, who is not a Shakespearean character, also points to

Beaumont. Fletcher refers to him, without giving him a name, in II. 2, and introduces him in III. 5 as "Gerrold."

In the latter part of the scene we have nothing that can be definitely declared to be non-Shakespearean, but nothing that claims recognition as his. It does not seem likely that Shakespeare would echo *Macbeth* by making the Doctor say, "I think she has a perturbed mind, which I cannot minister to,"[4] though it does seem to be he who, in V. 1b, weakly echoes the same play in the declaration that Mars has "turn'd green Neptune into purple." I should more readily attribute both these reminiscences to Beaumont than to Shakespeare himself; but in the one scene I see other signs of Beaumont and in the other I do not. In IV. 3 we have one passage that very clearly and decidedly points to Beaumont. This is

> "Carve her, drink to her, and still among intermingle your petition of grace and acceptance into her favor,"

which, as has been frequently noted, bears a very close resemblance to a line in Beaumont's "Remedy of Love,"

> "Drink to him, carve him, give him compliment."

Is Beaumont present anywhere else? I do not think so; and yet there are in I. 1 a couple of signposts pointing in his direction. One is the frequent use of the word

[4] Compare the conclusion of III. 1 (Beaumont's) of *Philaster:*

> "Nature too unkind,
> That made no medicine for a troubled mind!"

which may be compared with lines in III. 2 of the same play:

> "Hast thou a medicine to restore my wits,
> When I have lost 'em?"

"knee" ("No knees to me"; "suffered your knees to wrong themselves"; "Oh, no knees; none, widow"; "Lend us a knee"; "our cause cries for your knee"). The other is the line,

"Her twinning cherries shall their sweetness fall,"

which reminds one of the *Philaster* line,

"Oh, they are two twinned cherries dyed in blushes."

(Here also the reference is to a girl's lips.)[5]
In the same scene occurs a line,

"Extremity, that sharpens sundry wits,"

which is found also in the opening scene of *The Honest Man's Fortune*. I believe that scene to be by Tourneur; and such a borrowing from Shakespeare is quite in accord with his practice in *The Atheist's Tragedy*. The hints of Beaumont in I. 1 that I have directed attention to are not to be ignored, in view of his presence elsewhere; but they are not important enough to warrant me in believing the scene to be partly his, especially as the manner throughout seems to me Shakespearean. The only portion that invites doubt is the conclusion (three speeches). With Cruickshank and Gray's idea of Beaumont deliberately imitating Shakespeare I cannot agree. That he was influenced by him I admit; but there is a vast difference between conscious imitation and unconscious subjection to influence. I am an opponent of the imitation theory every time. It seems to me the last refuge of defeated scholarship. Gray not only gives to

[5] Compare, in IV. 3 of *Philaster* (a Beaumont scene):

"She breaths not. Open once more
Those rosy twins."

Beaumont what I have allotted to him, but also much of what I accord to Shakespeare.

In the "Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft," 1923-4, appeared an article by Karl Ege on this play. His division does not differ from mine, except in giving all of III. 5 to Fletcher, and IV. 3, that part of II. 1b (so-called II. 2) preceding Emilia's entry, and all of V. 1 to Shakespeare; but he gives some interesting statistics.[6] He presents figures to show that in the Shakespeare scenes an average percentage of eleven lines contains similes or metaphors, while in the Fletcher part the percentage is only 6.5; that the percentage of lines containing alliteration is 10 (mistakenly set down as 12) in Shakespeare, and 18 in Fletcher; and that 10 per cent of the Shakespearean lines and 2 per cent of the Fletcherian lines contain antithesis. Let us see how these figures affect the theory of Beaumont's presence. Excluding those parts of the play where Ege and I are not in agreement, but accepting his statistics, we find that the similes in the Shakespeare parts range from 8 to 14 per cent, and those in the Fletcher parts from 3 to 12, while in IV. 3 the percentage is 6, and in III. 5b, *nil*. Shakespeare's percentage of alliteration ranges from *nil* to 23, and Fletcher's from 15 to 40, while in IV. 3 it is *nil*, and in III. 5b 33 (by reason of the nature of the matter). As regards antitheses, the Shakespearean percentage varies from 8 to 13, and the Fletcherian from *nil* to 4, while that of IV. 3 is 8, and that of III. 5b is 4.5. These figures are by no means conclusive; but they tell rather against the supposed Shakespearean authorship of IV. 3

[6] I omit his "Parallelen," which are not of much account.

and the Fletcherian authorship of III. 5b. As to the other scenes regarding which I differ from Ege, there is in the early part of the so-called II. 2 a percentage of 16 similes (higher than occurs elsewhere), of only 11 alliterative lines (lower than in any other Fletcher section), and of 8 antitheses (higher than elsewhere in Fletcher)—facts which seem to be against my attribution to Fletcher, of which nevertheless I am quite confident. In V. 1a the respective figures are—10.5, 32, and *nil*, which markedly tend to confirm my ascription of these lines to Fletcher. On my division of the entire play, Ege's figures would give the following percentages:

| | *Similes* | | *Alliteration* | | *Antithesis* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percentage* | *Range* | *Percentage* | *Range* | *Percentage* | *Range* |
| Fletcher | 8 | 3-16 | 17 | 11-40 | 2 | 0-8 |
| Beaumont | 3.5 | 0-6 | 13 | 0-33 | 6.5 | 4.5-8 |
| Shakespeare | 11 | 8-14 | 11 | 0-23 | 11 | 8-13 |

## *Plays of which Field was Part Author.*

OF the six plays I group here, most investigators would include either three or four (*Four Plays in One* arousing differences of opinion). *Cupid's Revenge* would be classed elsewhere; and *Faithful Friends* would be left out altogether.

### 43. *Cupid's Revenge.*

Entered, anonymously, in the Stationers' Register in April, 1615, and printed, by Creede for Harison, the same year, with an attribution to Fletcher, this play was acted at Court in 1611-2 by the Children of Whitefriars—that is to say, Her Majesty's Revels Children,

by whom the quarto states it to have been acted. It was again presented on January 1, 1613, and also a little later; and in 1624 it was acted at Whitehall by the Queen of Bohemia's men, and on February 7, 1636-7, by Beeston's boys. In 1630 it was reissued by Thomas Jones, with an ascription to Beaumont and Fletcher; and a third edition came out in 1635. On July 28, 1641, it was, with *The Scornful Lady*, entered in the Stationers' Register to Raworth. It occurs in the Cockpit list of 1639 twice, once with the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, and once between *The Bloody Banquet* and *The Conceited Duke*, the second entry being, I suppose, an error.

These facts seem to imply an original production in 1611; but it must, I think, have been earlier than that year, when Beaumont and Fletcher were attached to King's. Lawrence gives a date of 1610; but I am inclined to go back farther than that. The passage of the play from the Queen's Revels Children, through the Lady Elizabeth's, to Beeston's boys is quite plain. Rogers and Ley's catalogue follows the second quarto in attributing it to our two authors jointly; but the ascription of the first edition to Fletcher alone must carry much more weight, though it is discounted by the printer's non-acquaintance with "the author." His words —"Not having any such epistle from the author (in regard I am not acquainted with him), I have made bold, myself, without his consent, to dedicate this play to the judicious"—imply that the play was printed without sanction. Once again, then, we have to fall back on the internal evidence to settle the question.

All the critics regard it as a joint play; and Fleay,

Boyle, and myself are the only ones who do not consider it wholly the work of Beaumont and Fletcher, Fleay holding it to have been altered by Field in 1613, and Boyle dividing it between Beaumont, Fletcher, and a third writer. My own view, as given in "E. S.,"[1] was, that there were four writers concerned, the other two being Field and Massinger; but I now drop the latter.

I began my reëxamination with a most decided disinclination to accept my original view that both Beaumont and Field were concerned in *Cupid's Revenge*. For one thing, I thought it unlikely that Field would be found coöperating with Beaumont or that prior to the date of publication of *Cupid's Revenge* he would have the task of revising a work by Beaumont and Fletcher; for another, knowing how closely these two writers resembled one another, I deemed it highly probable that all of the play that I had divided between them might well be gathered together for the credit of but one. Yet I have, very reluctantly, been driven to the endorsement of my early view. There is, however, very little sign of Field having overwritten Beaumont. Tokens of the latter's presence may doubtfully be found in the latter

[1] This, as corrected in the second article, was:
B—II. 5, IV. 5, V. 4b (from Timantus' entry to Bacha's)
Fl—I. 1b, 2a, 4a, c, III. 3, IV. 3, 4, V. 2, (?) 3, 4a
B and Fl—II. 3, 4, III. 1, V. 1
?Fd—II. 1
B and Fd—I. 1a (to Leontius' exit), 3, II. 2, III. 2a, c, IV. 1a (to Timantus' exit)
Fl and Fd—I. 2b (last twelve lines), 4b (from Leontius' entry to Hidaspes' exit), II. 6, IV. 1b, V. 4c
B and M—III. 2b (from Leontius' exit to "That is due from me to my father's wife")
Fl and M—III. 4, IV. 2

part of Field's II. 2, beginning "*Bacha.* Sir, though you be my king, whom I will serve"; but that is all. There are, however, two scenes (the ones that begin and end the play) in which Field is to be found with Fletcher, though even there the work of the two men remains distinct. The Fletcher is not always characteristic (*e.g.*, in V. 2), and may be somewhat early. I was at first inclined to think that the middle part of I. 4 (between Leontius' entry and Hidaspes' exit) contained some alteration; but I came to the conclusion that it was only Fletcherian verse wrongly printed. My division is then:

Fl—I. 1b, 2, 4, II. 3, 6, III. 3, 4, IV. 2-4, V. 2-4a, c
B—I. 3, II. 5, III. 1, 2, IV. 1
Fd—I. 1a (to Leontius' exit), II. 1, 2 (with perhaps some B), 4, IV. 5, V. 1, 4b (from Timantus' entry to "But leave you to Heaven")

What I took to be signs of Massinger seem to me too slight to warrant me in admitting him, although Fleay expressed agreement with my recognition of him. Both in III. 4 and IV. 2 there are lines that I should unquestionably pass as his in a Massinger play; but they are not sufficiently individual to cause me to say that they can be no one else's. Perhaps the most markedly Massingerian passage is

> "I must confess he loved me
> Somewhat beyond a son, and still pursued it.
> With such a lust (I will not say ambition)."
>
> (IV. 3.)

Wells thinks this characteristic Fletcher, because that writer occasionally uses "I will not say," and quotes two lines from *A Wife for a Month*, IV. 3:

> "I do not say he would have been bawd himself too"

and

> "I will not say he offer'd fair Evanthe";

but, except in the use of the phrase, there is no resemblance: constructionally they are quite different. Sentences of this mold are common in Massinger, and are in accord with his rhetorical habit. However, I am prepared to admit that here at least it is Fletcher's, little as it is like him.

The only opinion Fleay gives is that Fletcher is traceable in I. 1b, II. 5, and IV. 3. Boyle and Macaulay disagree with me as to nearly every scene. Bullen thinks Beaumont's hand can be clearly traced in II and that the colloquy between Bacha and Leucippus in III. 2 is also his. Chelli denies Massinger's presence.

Alden picks out as "at least in part" Beaumont's I. 1, 3, II. 2, 3, 4, 5, III. 1, 2, IV. 1, 4, 5, and V. 3, which differs from my original judgment but slightly, but from my present one rather more. Gayley, besides being of opinion that Beaumont coöperated in minor scenes, regards I. 3, II. 2, III. 2, IV. 1, and V. 4 as wholly his. It will be seen that we are not in entire agreement. Sykes sees no trace of Field. I may, by the way, point out the use of the adjectival "harlotry" in conjunction with "baggage" in V. 1, as in scene 1 of *The Triumph of Honour*. I regard both instances as Field's; but they may of course both be Beaumont's.

There are many marks of alteration. Telamon is described in the *dramatis personæ* as "a Lycian lord," but he is to all intents and purposes only a page. In the opening scene he and Timantus appear, but say nothing, while the entry of Ismenus is unmarked; in III. 4

Telamon's entrance is entirely purposeless, and his silent continuance on the stage is due, I suppose, to the reviser and abridger's oversight; and in I. 2 the remodeler has practically omitted Fletcher's "four young men and maids." For Leontius, Leucippus, Bacha, and the state, respectively, duke and king, marquis and prince, duchess and queen, dukedom and kingdom are used indiscriminately; no doubt the scene has been changed either from a dukedom to a kingdom or from a kingdom to a dukedom. Chambers doubts if the alteration of the wicked king, queen, and prince (who, by the way, is not wicked) into a duke, duchess, and marquis implies more than censorship, and that, in any case, it does not imply the intervention of a reviser other than the original authors. It seems to me that, had the alterations been the work of a censor, they would have been much more thorough. It is a further possible proof of mixed authorship that Urania does not always talk like the country wench she is represented as being.

Lines in IV. 4, especially

> "Farewell!
> To all our happiness a long farewell!"

may be compared with lines in Fletcher's part of *Henry VIII*. The fourth act contains a great deal of personification, from which the other acts are free. It seems to be mostly Fletcher's, though he does not often indulge in the habit elsewhere.

### 44. *The Faithful Friends.*

It is not surprising that critics have shown a marked disinclination to ascribe this poor play to our authors;

but its quality, or lack of quality, must not prejudice our judgment of it. And first let me say that the external evidence in its favor is much stronger than its opponents care to acknowledge. Its absence from the folios is supposed to be against it; but no one questions Fletcher's participation in *Barnavelt* or *Henry VIII* or *A Very Woman* for the same reason. The cause of its non-inclusion in the first folio is quite clear; it did not come into the publisher's hands till later. It was entered by Moseley in the Stationers' Register on June 29, 1660, together with *A Right Woman* (which, like it, was attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher) and *The History of Mador, King of Britain* (which was ascribed to Beaumont alone). When the relation of Moseley to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio is taken into account, these attributions are seen to be of moment. Moseley, having claimed that his collection contained all the previously unprinted work of his two authors, with the exception of *The Wild-goose Chase*, would not be likely to go out of his way to declare that his assertion had not been justified. We may take it then that he had what he took to be good reason for his attributions in all three of these cases. None of them secured a place in the 1679 folio; but the publishers may not have possessed the manuscripts, and in any case included no plays not in the first folio save such as had already appeared in quarto. I therefore think that not much is to be made of the absence of *The Faithful Friends* from the folios; and confirmation of the correctness of Moseley's attribution is afforded by a similar ascription on the surviving manuscript. Nevertheless modern critics are almost unanimous in turning it down. Ward goes fur-

ther than most, in that, while he denies the presence of Fletcher, he only questions the probability of that of Beaumont. Cruickshank, pursuing his usual imitational ideas, declares there are "touches of" the style of Massinger "which suggest that a pupil may have helped Fletcher," from which we may judge that he considers the play to be partly Fletcher's. Others are unanimous in excluding both our authors. Fleay believed it to be by Field and Daborne, but made no attempt to separate their respective contributions. He urged that the internal evidence identified the authorship with that of the three central acts of *The Honest Man's Fortune*. Later, however, he changed his opinion, declaring the whole of the play save IV. 5, which is a later insertion, to be from the pen of Daborne. Boyle pronounced it to be by the same author as *The Laws of Candy* and *The Noble Gentleman*, whom he took to be Shirley; but he had afterwards to acknowledge that chronological considerations put Shirley out of the question. Chelli declares that Massinger is not present. Sykes sees no Beaumont, no Fletcher, no Massinger, and no Field in it, and declares it to be "too full of classical allusions" for any of them, and to be "written in a thoroughly vicious" style, dating in his opinion later than 1630. Wells expressed the opinion that it contained no work by either Beaumont or Fletcher, and that it was "probably by Ford, or at least revised by him"; but, later, put it down as partly by Field, and did not name Ford. My own view agrees with none of these. In "E. S." I pronounced in favor of the original authorship of Beaumont and Fletcher and a revision by Massinger and

Field.[1] I still, though very hesitatingly, adhere to that view.

Beaumont and Fletcher are the only two writers connected with the play by external evidence. It is consequently for signs of them that one may first look. So far as Fletcher is concerned, the yield is but slight. The one speech I feel fairly confident in ascribing to him is the first in II. 1. It is very early work, and therefore not particularly characteristic, the two lines most in accord with his later manner being

> "I that this twenty years have tugged with danger"

and

> "Shall blast your springing glory in the bud";

but throughout the speech can be seen the germs of the more developed Fletcher that we know. Bellario's longest speech in II. 3, Titus' third speech in IV. 3, and a brief passage in IV. 1—

> ("See: there's my sword;
> And thus my breast flies open to your fury.
> Strike, and strike home; and, when my guiltless blood
> Shall dye this green grass crimson, you shall see
> How free 'twas from corruption")—

[1] My division of the play was as follows:

B—III. 2b (from Armanus' entry to Leontius'), d (from Pergamus' entry), 3a, c (from Bellario's third entry to Roman Herald's), IV. 3b (last five speeches), 4 (or this scene may be Fd's)

Fl—I. 2, IV. 1b (speech beginning "Whoever writ")

B and Fd—I. 3, II. 1b, 2b (from Pergamus' entry), III. 3b, d, IV. 1a, c

B and M—I. 1, II. 3a, III. 2a, c, IV. 2a (to the masque), 3a, V. 2 (the conclusion being B's)

Fl and M—II. 3b (from Marius' exit), V. 1

M—IV. 2b

Fd—II. 1a (first speech, founded on Fl), 2a, III. 1

I no longer count the dumb show in IV as a separate scene.

seem also to hint at his presence, though the whole lot taken cumulatively is not very much to build upon. Regarded in conjunction with the external evidence, however, it does seem to warrant his acceptance, the more so as probability is added to Moseley's ascription by the fact that he attributed *Mador* to Beaumont alone in the same entry. We may judge from that that he had some reason for crediting Fletcher with participation in *The Faithful Friends*.

The case for Beaumont is somewhat stronger, though one has to keep constantly in mind the resemblances between his work and Field's. Philadelpha's speech in I. 3,

> "I see all earth-bred joys are born and dead
> In a short moment. I fare now like her
> Was turn'd from Paradise ere she had tasted bliss,
> Or like a king kill'd at his coronation,"

smacks of Beaumont, but may not impossibly be Field's.

> "Pull their sad fates from our unwilling hands"

is also Beaumontesque; and so is this from II. 2—

> "You may pull
> Perils on him you seem to tender so"—

and, again, "Would pull on too great a ruin" in III. 3. The kneeling of Philadelpha and Armanus to one another in II. 2 is very characteristic of Beaumont: it is a trick which Ford shared with him. In IV. 1 there is more kneeling, Marcus Tullius going on his knees to Armanus; and we have perhaps other hints of Beaumont in the use of the enclitic "do," and in the line,

> "For I could ever sit recounting it."

In the concluding portion of IV. 3 there are a few signs of him. All this amounts to very little; and, were it not for the external evidence, I should think it insufficient to put forward; as it is, it seems to me to warrant a claim for a Beaumont foundation. Further, the ridicule of the officers of the law in I. 2 is mildly reminiscent of him, and the charge of high treason brought against Snip-snap may be compared with the treason charge against Lazarillo in *The Woman-hater*, and in connection with it may be remembered the story of Beaumont and Fletcher's own treason experience. The wasting of Lelia's tears in III. 3 reminds one of Luce's experience in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle;* in III. 2 Pergamus gives hints of the gluttony of Lazarillo and other Beaumontesque characters, as well as of the brag of Bessus; and, in the same scene, Pergamus' account of the battle, in the midst of which Rufinus finds it necessary to ask,

"But all this while what did the general?"

may be held to have been subsequently improved by the author in *A King and no King;* but I have no desire to make too much of these points of resemblance, because, after all, I feel no certainty that Beaumont is to be found in the scenes I have named. The extravagant worship of kingship, as shown in IV. 3, is quite in his vein; Sir Pergamus is given to that "strutting" on which Alden commented; friendship is Beaumont's favorite theme; and the constant calling on the gods reminds one of him. The difficulty is that the verse, save in a few odd lines, is not particularly characteristic of him; but, if that objection be raised, the answer to it is, that the verse is early.

Before going any farther on the matter of authorship, it may be well to consider the question of date. In I. 1 there are lines—

> "Alexander the Great had his Hephæstion;
> Philip of Spain, his Lerma. Not to offend,
> I could produce from courts that I have seen
> More royal precedents"—

that are held to give a date subsequent to the death of Philip in 1621, or at least to the disgrace of Lerma in 1618. I doubt it. The reference to Alexander had to be put into the past tense, and that fact dominated the form in which was put the reference to Philip. Need we suppose that, if it had been written prior to 1618, the dramatist would have been so meticulously careful as not to allow the past tense to govern the second reference? He was concerned merely, I take it, with the necessity of putting his facts succinctly. I admit that the implication of a date subsequent to 1618 is greater than that for a date prior to that year; but the latter is by no means rendered an impossibility. And there are other reasons why a date of 1613-4 would be more suitable. Fleay pointed out possible allusions in I. 1 to the Earl of Somerset's wedding, which was celebrated on December 26, 1613. These are, it is to be noted, in the same scene as the allusion to James's favoritism, which had become so unpleasantly notorious.

But it is only a revision of the play that can be dated 1613-4; Beaumont's work may be very much earlier. Revision is manifest. The silence of Marcellus in I. 1, of Armanus and three others in II. 1, and of four leading personages in V. 2 (this final scene being in all

probability greatly curtailed toward the end); the complete silence of Arminius; the circumstance that in the last scene the second senator speaks before the first (though, as they have previously appeared, this may have no significance); and the inclusion in the *dramatis personæ* of tapsters and messengers, though only one of each appears, while Dindimus and the soldiers are omitted—all point in that direction; and, if that be deemed not sufficient proof, there is the condition of the manuscript, which is now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, marked "D. 25. F. 10." Apart from considerable omissions in II. 1 and 2 (due perhaps to the censor, perhaps to the producer), one scene, IV. 4, has been inserted on a detached piece of paper. The rest is pronounced to be in a more modern hand, while the first three leaves and the last leaf are of still later date, and alterations throughout are in a fourth hand. It almost looks then as if there were three authors here, besides the revising editor, and actually three or four layers of authorship. That IV. 4, which is apparently in the handwriting of the author, is an insertion for performance is obvious. It is doubtless owing to the very considerable alteration the play has undergone that the actions of the King are so lacking in consistency and clearness that it is impossible to tell what the original author or authors intended to make of him.

The manuscript of this play is, unfortunately, not available to me for study; but Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, the noted authority on handwriting, has favored me with the following note on four pages (besides the title-page) of which he possesses photographs: "The page facing p. 69" (that is to say, IV. 4) "is not numbered,

and is written in the old English script; the other three pages are written in a beautiful Italian hand. P. 1 and p. 78" (this latter being the last page) "are undoubtedly in the same hand. P. 13[2] is a small, neat Roman hand, not the same as that of pp. 1 and 78.

"It is interesting to note that on the 'title-page' Marius was first described as 'Brother' of Lelia, but 'Brother' was struck out, and 'Friend of Tullius and Lover of Leelia' substituted. So too Learchus and Leontius were first designated as 'Villains'; then this word was struck out and changed to 'Soldiers and Enemys to Tullius.' These changes suggest the work of the author; they are not copyist's errors and corrections." (May they not, however, possibly be a reviser's?)

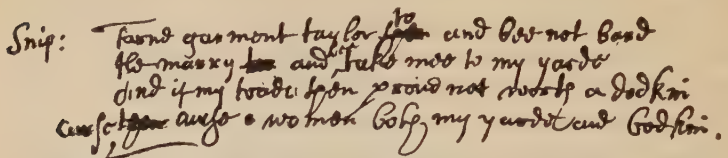
"The first page of the text of the play is in the same hand as the title-page and the last page. There are two minor corrections on this page; but they are of no significance.

"On p. 13 someone wrote in the middle of the page, near the right margin, the following words, in old English script: 'The cunstable / Tell me of cunstable I know what / a cunstable is I have bin cunstable / my selfe.' This is evidently intended as a continuation of the Constable's first speech. The same hand which wrote this extended speech strikes out the word 'Const.' in the left margin seven lines below, and assigns the speech to 'Tapst.' instead. He also struck out the word 'Drum' in the stage-direction preceding the Constable's entrance.

"The page facing p. 69 has a few interesting correc-

[2] This is a scene in II, beginning "*Const.* Very good, then! My Tapster being a true subject, his blood is the Kings," and ending "*Bell.* Thanks, brave Captaine!"

tions. I transcribe the last few lines on the page exactly as they stand, corrections and all:




These look to me like an author's corrections. This is confirmed by the addition of a speech in the same hand in the right margin about the middle of the page."[3]

This creates an extraordinary position: (1) the bulk of the play is in hand "A" (Roman); (2) pages 1-3 and 78 are in a later Italian hand, "B"; (3) still later we have Massinger making an insertion in a much older English hand; (4) also there are alterations in another old English hand. Massinger might perhaps use the old English script in the 'thirties; but that the oldest hands should do the latest work seems unlikely. It is a matter of regret to me that where I am at the moment of writing (in the University of Texas) I am unable to refer to the play in the light of Dr. Tannenbaum's conclusions. It is singular to note that my correspondent bears out my discovery of the presence of Massinger (in regard to which I have always stood absolutely alone), but does so in a scene which I have never claimed

[3] In a later communication Dr. Tannenbaum says, "The pantomime is in the hand which wrote the bulk of the play. Another hand (no. 2) wrote only the first two or three pages (including the *Dramatis personæ*) and the last page." The added scene (IV. 4), he says, "is beyond question in the handwriting of Massinger. From the character of the penmanship and the spelling *etc.*, I am prepared to maintain that *Faithful Friends* was written (at least, this scene was written) years (perhaps five to ten years) after *Believe as You List*. The old English addition on page 13 does not seem to be Massinger's hand."

for him. If Dr. Tannenbaum's judgment as to the handwriting is to be accepted (and I do not question it), my division of the play cannot be correct. (See Appendix.)

Of the four writers I have named, I am inclined to think the signs of Massinger the clearest; and yet the passages containing indications of him are so few that I hesitated to consider them sufficient to warrant his inclusion as a participator. The opening of the play seems markedly his; and later in the same scene the speech containing the reference to Lerma is no less definitely in his manner. The tokens of him are equally clear in IV. 2; and, his presence being conceded in these, there are other portions of the play that may be awarded to him—the poor farce that concludes II. 3, and much of IV. 3.

I am not sure that I am right in attributing the whole of the remaining work of revision to a single writer, nor even that I am correct in naming Field as that one; but, though the work is only occasionally up to his level, I think it is his. The burlesque is not Beaumont's, but of the coarser Fieldian quality. Whoever he may be, the writer is very fond of using the words "sacred," and "black" and "hot," and gives us such absurdities as

> "And hoodwink danger with your honor's veil,"
>
> "The antipathy of honor's stem,"
>
> "The chief star that adorns this hemisphere
> Is thrown into his bosom for his bride."

Not infrequently his mode of expression is somewhat old-fashioned, if it be he who employs "for to" and

uses "entreats" and "persuades" and "entertain" as nouns; and he presents us with such strange constructions as "I am something wonder'd," and "will wonder you" (for "will cause you to wonder"). There are traces of the vocabulary of Field. The oaths and ejaculations are his (including his favorite "pish"); and "arts and arms" (I. 1), "practic" (I. 3 and II. 3), "transgression" (V. 2), "transgressor" (IV. 3) are all treated by Mr. Sykes (though not in this case) as markedly characteristic of him. ("Arms and arts" is, by the way, to be found also in *Wit at several Weapons*, I. 2.) Such words too as "perspicle" (V. 2) and "sanguivolent" (III. 3) are quite in his vein; and so is the "Eyes, drop forth!" of III. 3. For a parallel to

> "Surcease a while this explicating joy" (IV. 1)

we may turn to "Explicate your thoughts" in *The Knight of Malta*, I. 3, a Field scene; and, after a lapse of only half-a-dozen lines, we come on a passage,

> "And sink me with black obloquy? Well, king,
> The moon may dim the sun; and so may I
> Wrap up thy blazing pride in a red cloud,
> And darken thee for ever,"

which recalls, in another Field scene (IV. 1 of *The Queen of Corinth*),

> "Black clouds of discontent envelop me."

I may also, without deducing anything from them, direct attention to the frequent use of the objective "ye," the omission of the nominative pronoun from "I think," "I protest," "it can be"; the use of "fury" or "furies" as a term of abuse (III. 3, IV. 1, V. 2); "col-

leagued death" (II. 1); "full-sailed pride" (II. 1, to be compared with "full-sail'd confidence" in *Thierry and Theodoret*); "slavish tyranny" (II. 3); "beholdingness" (IV. 2, as used by Massinger in V. 1 of *The Lover's Progress*); and the construction "Any thy assistants" (II. 3). It is to be noted also that a line in IV. 3 ("Who, dreadless in his articles, may come") is repeated in V. 2.

To return to the question of Field's participation, I may add to the slight reasons I have given one little circumstance that tells strongly in favor of my view. It may be thought too trivial a thing even to mention, much less to pay any attention to; but it is precisely such little things that afford truest indications. They are indeed straws that show the direction of the wind. This little, apparently insignificant, matter is Field's fondness, especially in the closing scene of a play, for having his characters speak in chorus. In the last scene of *A Woman is a Weathercock* all speak together no less than ten times, three speak in unison once, and two thrice; while in *Amends* we have four characters speaking together twice, and all in unison five times. For purposes of comparison, I have looked through the final scenes of all the fifty-nine plays dealt with here (with the exception of *Double Falsehood*, which, owing to the rewriting it has been subjected to, would not afford a fair test), all the fifteen sole plays of Massinger, *The Fatal Dowry*, and nine[4] wholly or partly by William Rowley —a total of eighty-three; and I find that in only four

[4] *The Witch of Edmonton, The Old Law, A Match at Midnight, A New Wonder, A Shoemaker a Gentleman, The Spanish Gipsy, The Fair Quarrel, All's Lost, The Changeling.*

of all these plays are the figures of Field even approached. These four are *A Match at Midnight*, *The Knight of Malta*, and *The Honest Man's Fortune*, in which there are respectively five and five and four full chorus speeches, and *The Faithful Friends*, in which there are no less than seven; and it will be noted that in every one of these, except the Rowley play, I had on quite other grounds detected the hand of Field. Next to these, among all these plays, but separated from them by a considerable interval, comes *Love's Cure*.

If we take all scenes, instead of restricting our survey to final scenes, the result is much the same. I have examined fifty-eight of these plays (that is to say, all but *Double Falsehood*), *A Match at Midnight*, and the three known Field plays for scenes in which named characters, or unnamed characters of real importance, are grouped together to speak as "All" or "Omnes," or where three or more such characters separately indicated speak in unison; and I have found that the following plays have the greatest number of such scenes: Field's *Woman*, five, out of a total of twelve scenes; Field's *Amends*, four, out of fourteen; and *The Faithful Friends*, four of the Field scenes, out of fifteen in which that writer had a hand. No other play (save *The Birth of Merlin*, which has three) has more than two such scenes; and the only ones of these where the two scenes are from the one hand are—*The Knight of Malta* (Field, out of a total of five scenes in which he was concerned), *The Queen of Corinth* (Field, out of seven scenes), and *The Double Marriage* (Fletcher, out of eleven scenes). The greatest number of times in which the qualifying instances occur is—Field's *Woman*, nine-

teen; Field's *Amends*, fifteen; Field's part of *The Faithful Friends*, thirteen; Field's part of *The Knight of Malta*, ten; Rowley's *Match*, five; Field's part of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, four; Field's part of *The Queen of Corinth*, three; Fletcher's part of *The Double Marriage*, three; *The Birth of Merlin*, three;—and the final scene of *Love's Cure*, three. In no other play has any writer more than two, save in Field's part of *Four Plays*, where there are three. Yet, out of the sixty-two plays examined, Fletcher is found in almost all, Beaumont in a considerable number, and Field in only nine. And, finally, if we take the single scenes in which this peculiarity is most to be noted, the result is still the same:

| *Play* | *Scene* | *Author* | *Number of Chorus Speeches of Important Characters* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *A Woman is a Weathercock* | V. 2 | Fd | 11 |
| *The Faithful Friends* | V. 2 | Fd | 7 |
| *Amends* | V. 2 | Fd | 7 |
| *Amends* | I. 1 | Fd | 5 |
| *The Knight of Malta* | I. 3 | Fd | 5 |
| *The Knight of Malta* | V. 2 | Fd | 5 |
| *A Match at Midnight* | V. 2 | R | 5 |
| *The Honest Man's Fortune* | V. 3 | Fd | 4 |

No other scene has as many as four. In *The Fatal Dowry*, of which Field was part author, there is but one such scene, and that is in his part of II. 2. It may be further noted that in every play in which Field had the last act to himself he made it consist of two scenes, neither more nor less. I may mention that Dekker resembles Field in his fondness for the chorus speech.

As Daborne's authorship had been suggested, and as

I felt tempted to admit another reviser, stilted and futile, I made a special comparison of his work with that found here; but I was unable to discover any resemblance to outweigh the many points of dissimilarity. His tendency to drop into rhyme, his employment of the infinitive without "to," his accordion-like verse, with numerous six-foot lines and as many short ones—these things are not to be found here; and the verse, poor as it is, is easier than that of Daborne.

My allotment, which I put forward with diffidence, is:

B—II. 2 (with perhaps some Fd), III. 2, IV. 1a (with perhaps some Fl)
Fl—II. 1a (first speech)
B and Fd—I. 3, III. 3
Fl and M—II. 3b (from Tullius' exit)
Fd—I. 1b (from "*Mar.* I curse my slow speed" to "They have a fresh soldier to their general"), d, 2 (perhaps with B foundation), (?) II. 1b, 3a, (?) III. 1, IV. 1b (last three speeches), (?) 2a (four speeches), 4, V.
M—I. 1a, c (one speech), IV. 2b, 3 (perhaps with a B and Fl foundation)

I am doubtful about attributing to Massinger the last five speeches of IV. 2.

If I be right in treating the play as originally by Beaumont and Fletcher, it must have been one of their very first joint efforts. Field's revision of it for Queen's Revels Children would presumably be subsequent to their severance from the company, but can hardly be put later than 1610-1. Massinger's version was probably done, either for the same company or for the allied Lady Elizabeth's, about 1613-4. It is certainly not work

of his last period. The frequency of classical allusions is an indication of early work; though Massinger always remained partial to such affectation of learning. In this play, however, it does not seem to be peculiar to a single writer. It may be noted that in IV. 3 the King proposes disguise to Tullius, though, as suggested later in the same scene, he is, in the closing scene, unknown to Titus, as to others. Probably in one version of the play, the King was in the secret. This may help to indicate revision, and links up probably with the inconsistency in the delineation of the monarch to which I have drawn attention.

### 45. *Four Plays in One.*

If this be reckoned one of the good plays of our authors, it is entirely owing to the presence amongst the four plays it contains of that real little masterpiece, *The Triumph of Love*, which takes its rank with the finest work contained in the collection; and, strangely enough, it is precisely regarding that one that most difference of opinion is expressed.

I have a peculiar interest in *Four Plays in One*. The view I put forth in "E. S." regarding it constituted the sole dissenting voice from the opinion advanced over a century ago by Weber and adopted by all the investigators of the authorship of these plays. According to them, the Induction and the first two plays were by Beaumont, and the remaining two plays by Fletcher. I agreed with them as to Fletcher's share, but gave the Induction and *The Triumph of Honour* to Field, restricting Beaumont's portion to *The Triumph of Love*. My view fell very flat. It was, in fact, utterly ignored

for nearly a quarter of a century, when, to my amazement, Gayley adopted the idea of Field's participation. And now, as is so often the way, after being so many years the one radical in a conservative world, I have been pushed into a sort of backwater of conservatism. Gayley went beyond me by further reducing Beaumont's share and increasing Field's; and the latest Beaumont and Fletcher investigators (Sykes and Wells) throw Beaumont out altogether, and award the whole of the Induction and the first two plays to Field; and in his "Representative English Comedies," volume 3, Gayley seems inclined to adopt the same position. And this is the play which Fleay took as the basis of his separation of the Beaumont characteristics from those of Fletcher! There is irony in the circumstance.

Rogers and Ley's catalogue gave the work to Beaumont and Fletcher; Archer's, to Fletcher alone. Except for the inclusion of this portmanteau play in the folios and its accrediting to Beaumont and Fletcher in Robinson and Moseley's Stationers' Register entry of September 29, 1660, we have no external evidence of its authorship. It does not occur in either the King's list of 1641 or the Cockpit list of 1639, and cannot be traced to either of these companies. It was in all probability a boys' play, the music, singing, dancing, and display all pointing in that direction. It may possibly not have been for public performance at all, but only for presentation at Court. I think it is most reasonable to assume that it was written for the Queen's Revels Children, though it must be borne in mind that this is nothing more than a surmise, based on the belief that it was written for a boys' company and that the style of the Fletcher por-

tion is too developed for it to have been written while the Paul's boys were still in operation.

The date is altogether doubtful. Lawrence declared for 1612-3 very positively, but quite unconvincingly. He has since abandoned it in favor of 1625. Gayley's dating of 1610 for the Fletcher portion and 1612 for the Field is also unsatisfactory. I do not agree with him that the address to Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock* precludes the possibility of his having already had a share in *Four Plays in One*. My own dating must depend to some extent upon my view of the authorship, to which I must now turn, first remarking that we cannot say definitely that all the playlets composing it were written at about the one time. There are signs of alteration or abridgment in *The Triumph of Death* (for instance, who is Longaville, who enters in scene 3, and is mentioned in the text, as well as in the stage directions, but who says nothing, and does not figure in the *dramatis personæ?*); but that is another matter, due probably only to the necessity of curtailing Fletcher's exuberance.

The prologue to *The Triumph of Death* may not perhaps be Fletcher's; but from that point onward there can be no doubt as to his sole authorship, with the exception perhaps of the epilogue. It is only the Induction and the first two "triumphs" which need cause us concern. There cannot, I think, be much doubt that the Induction and *The Triumph of Honour* are from the one pen. Both bear considerable resemblance to the early work of Beaumont, but both have points of contact with the dramas of Field. The three great difficulties which meet us in an attempt to solve the authorship of the

Beaumont and Fletcher plays gather together here to overwhelm us. It is seldom easy to determine the responsibility for prose passages (and there is prose here); the early work of Beaumont and Fletcher does not markedly present the characteristics that we associate with their later work (and it is possible that there may be early Beaumont work here); and there is a very close resemblance between the style of Beaumont and that of Field. The question to be settled concerning the Induction and the first play is, whether they are to be regarded as Field or as fairly early Beaumont. If the plays are to be considered as of the one year, this should, in view of the developed character of the verse in Fletcher's two "triumphs," be Field; but can we be sure that two of the plays were not written some years before the other two? The chances are, however, greatly in favor of the Induction being, in such a case, the last written portion of the work, since it would be a mere concoction of a framework for the incorporation of already existent playlets; and, as it is this framework and the first of the four "triumphs" that have the most marked characteristics of comparative earliness, I feel compelled to abandon this possibility and to regard the five sections of the work as belonging all to the one period. If I do that, I must see Field rather than Beaumont in the Induction and *The Triumph of Honour*.

Mr. Dugdale Sykes, whose judgments regarding authorship are based almost invariably upon similarities in vocabulary, phraseology, and idea, cites but one parallel with Field's work in the Induction, and that is with *The Queen of Corinth*, which he only assumes (though, in my opinion, correctly) to be in part Field's. The parallel

is a fairly strong one;[1] but the real strength of the claim for Field's authorship of the Induction rests mainly upon its stylistic connection with *The Triumph of Honour*, with which it must stand or fall, since the two are obviously from the one mint.

Mr. Sykes gives five parallels between *The Triumph of Honour* and *The Queen of Corinth*. Two of these are valueless, one of the two being indeed no parallel at all. Nor need too much strength be attached to the alliterative association of "arts" and "arms" in both (if it be of force here, it must be of force also in *The Faithful Friends*). More importance must be attached to the use of "antedate" in the sense of "anticipate," especially if Mr. Sykes be right in saying that the word is not used by Beaumont. By far the strongest of these parallels is this:

> "When men shall read the records of thy valour,
> Thy hitherto brave virtue, and approach
> (Highly content yet) to this foul assault
> Included in this leaf, this ominous leaf,
> They shall throw down the book and read no more,
> Though the best deeds ensue."
>
> (*The Triumph of Honour*, scene 2.)

[1] Induction—

> "Majestic ocean, that with plenty feeds
> Me, thy poor tributary rivulet;
> . . . . . .
> Cursed be my birth-hour and my ending day,
> When back your love-floods I forget to pay."

*The Queen of Corinth*, III. 2—

> "I came to tender you the man you have made,
> And, like a thankful stream, to retribute
> All you, my ocean, have enriched me with."

> "When posterity
> Shall read your volumes, filled with virtuous acts,
> And shall arrive at this black bloody leaf,
> . . . what follows this,
> Deciphering any noble deed of yours,
> Shall be quite lost, for men will read no more."
> (*The Queen of Corinth*, IV. 3.)

As Mr. Sykes says, those two passages are either written by the same man or the one is a deliberate theft from the other.

In regard to *The Triumph of Honour*, Mr. Sykes comes to the same conclusion that I came to many years ago and puts up proof that is far in excess of anything I offered; but nevertheless I must take exception to one or two of his assertions. He says that it is "all but impossible" for Beaumont to have been concerned in *The Queen of Corinth*, because that play contains an allusion to Coryat's "Greeting," not published till the year of Beaumont's death; but, in face of the frequency of interpolation in Elizabethan dramas, there is no justification for regarding Beaumont's participation as out of the question. (It must be understood that I am not arguing in favor of his part-authorship, but only of its possibility.) Again, I altogether dissent from the dictum that "it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that" *Four Plays in One* and *The Queen of Corinth* "were written practically contemporaneously," and that the former must consequently be dated 1617 or thereabouts. And, thirdly, objection is to be taken to Mr. Sykes' habit of using parallels both ways. To use *The Queen of Corinth* to prove Field's authorship of part of the *Four Plays* and then to use the latter to

prove Field's part-authorship of *The Queen of Corinth* is a course that is distinctly open to objection.

Of the direct clues to Field cited by Mr. Sykes, the really significant one is his employment of the "vane" metaphor in scene 2 (it occurs also in *The Fatal Dowry*, II. 2); but I may add some reasons of my own for regarding *The Triumph of Honour*, and therefore also the Induction, as Field's—the rhymes have much more an air of premeditation than Beaumont's; burlesque double-ending rhymes are not as frequently as by Beaumont employed in conjunction with run-on lines (in this connection, IV. 2 of *A Woman is a Weathercock* may be compared with Humphrey's burlesque rhyming in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*); the use of the objective "ye" (as also in the Induction) is in accordance with his practice; and there is a Fieldian air about the speech beginning "Flow forth" (scene 1). I believe all to be Field's right up to the end of Cupid's speech; and here let it be remarked that, while, elsewhere, the Poet acts as prologue-speaker, here Cupid does so. That the interlude between the triumphs of *Honour* and *Love* is Field's seems to me to be evidenced by the following:

> "How many of our wives now-a-days would deserve to triumph in such a chariot?
>
> *Rin.* That's all one. You see they triumph in caroches.
>
> *Fri.* That they do, by the mass! but not all neither: many of them are content with carts."

And now we come to the most difficult section, *The Triumph of Love*. Of the arguments advanced by Mr. Sykes for the Fieldian authorship of this, the ones that strike me as in any way significant are these: (1) the

use of "antipathous" (scene 2), as in Field's part of *The Queen of Corinth;* (2) this parallel:

> "You have o'er-charged my breast
> With grace beyond my continence. I shall burst"
> (scene 2);
>
> "To conceal it
> Will burst your breast: 'tis so delicious,
> And so much greater than the continent"
> (*A Woman is a Weathercock*, I. 1);

(3) the use of "innocency" in scenes 3 and 4, Field favoring this quadrisyllabic form; (4) "female tears" (scene 4), which may compare with "female hate" in *Amends for Ladies,* III. 2; (5) the use of the word "jocundly" (scene 6), as in Field's part of *The Queen of Corinth* (III. 2); and (6) this parallel:

> "The law
> Is but the great man's mule: he rides on it,
> And tramples poorer men under his feet" (scene 6);
>
> "Some say some men on the back of law
> May ride, and rule it like a patient ass"
> (*A Woman*, II. 1);

though the difference here is not, as Sykes says, that in the one case the law is compared to a mule, and in the other to an ass; but that in the one the poor are the victims, and in the other the law itself.

I may say straight away that I am not prepared to hold to my original opinion. The final scene presents many signs of being Field's; and, when I have granted so much, the case of all the rest of *The Triumph of Love* is thrown into the melting-pot. I do not say that there is nothing in the scene that may not be Beaumont's; but I see no definite indication of him, several

signs of Field, and nothing that may not proceed from that writer. Less certainly I am prepared to give scene 2, from Angelica's exit to Dorothea's entry, scene 3, from "Enter Violante in a bed," and scene 4 also to Field. This leaves only 1, the opening and close of 2, the opening of 3, and 5, that may be Beaumont's; and, as there is nothing in them that may not be Field's, even though they seem somewhat more like Beaumont's work, I feel compelled to abandon the idea of his participation and give the whole of the little play to Field. If this view be correct, he should take a higher place in the honor-list of the dramatists of the time than he has usually been accorded. I may add that, of eight verse-tests I have employed, six in *Honour* and seven in *Love* suit Field, and five in each fit Beaumont.

My division is then:

Fd—Induction–Prologue to *Triumph of Death*
Fl—*Triumph of Death–Triumph of Time*

The abandonment of my belief in the presence of Beaumont means giving to Field two very typical Beaumont lines in scene 5 of *The Triumph of Love*—

> "Here I'll sit,
> And think myself away"

and

> "I will never
> Nor write nor read again";

but, as I have frequently remarked, Field undoubtedly took Beaumont for his model, as may easily be seen by a study of *Amends for Ladies*, and these Beaumont-like expressions may well be from Field's pen. Regard-

ing the latter of the two, note, in *The Knight of Malta*, I. 3 (where it is presumably Field's),

> "I will never nor write nor read again."

Assuming the play to be by Fletcher and Field, we may arrive at a date later than the middle of 1613, when the regular Beaumont and Fletcher partnership had come to an end, and when Fletcher's connection with the King's had temporarily ceased. Field was with the Lady Elizabeth's till about 1615-6; and, as that company was till then in close association with the Queen's Revels Children, it seems highly probable that the play was written for the latter. That gives us a date of about 1614, much about the time when Fletcher is known to have been collaborating with Field, Massinger, and Daborne. I regard it, in any case, as not earlier than 1613 and not later than 1615.

I have casually mentioned Mr. W. J. Lawrence's placing of the work in 1625. He has been good enough to put at my disposal the following extract from his Harvard lecture on "The Composite Play," which I have much pleasure in using:

> *Four Plays in One* consists of three plays entitled *The Triumph of Honour*, *The Triumph of Love*, and *The Triumph of Death*, all based on stories in the Decameron, together with an original masque entitled *The Triumph of Time*. The whole is in a neat framework. An induction reveals that the composition has been written in celebration of the nuptials of Emanuel, King of Portugal, and Isabella of Castile, in whose presence it is about to be performed; and between the plays, as well as at the end, the royal pair indulge in comment. The piece itself bears evidence that it was written for court performance, and it seems not unlikely that in the induction we have topical allusiveness either to a recent event or to one that is about to take place. In an article entitled "The Date of *Four*

*Plays in One*" published in "The Times Literary Supplement" for December 11, 1919, I sought to show that the play was written in celebration of the nuptials of the Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth, in 1613, but I must confess that I am not at all surprised that Chambers ("Elizabethan Stage," III, p. 231) fails to find my argument convincing, for I see now that it is wholly wide of the mark. This time I have something more sensible to advance.

In his interesting paper on "Nathaniel Field's work in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," published in his "Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama," Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes makes a move in the right direction in dating *Four Plays in One* somewhat later than it has hitherto been dated. He thinks it cannot have been written before 1617 and belongs to close on that year. Following his example, I am disposed to go still further ahead, and to assign it to the period of 1623-1625. There are some vague clues to this period in the Induction, where Frigoso, the court usher, is shown strenuously exerting himself to keep back the crowd which is struggling to get in to see the performance. This is a pet device of Fletcher's. In *A Wife for a Month*, licensed for the King's men in May, 1624, we have in act II. sc. 6, a scene before the masque in which the Second Servant says:—

"Look to that back door,
And keep it fast; they swarm like bees about it."

And presently the Citizens' wives troop in to see the masque. There is also a hint in the Induction of a prevailing custom of giving occasional performances at court for ladies only. Frigoso says:

> "You see how full the scaffolds are, there is scant room for a lover's thoughts there. Gentlewomen, sit close for shame: has none of ye a little corner for this gentleman?"

If you ask me at what period this custom was rife, I should point to the entry in Sir Henry Herbert's Revels records (Adams, p. 52), referring to November 2, 1624, which reads, "The night after, my Lord Chamberlin had *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* for the ladys, by the kings company."

One of the puzzles presented by *Four Plays in One* is that, while the epilogue reads as if addressed to an ordinary audience,

the whole production smacks of the court. Not since the early days of *Tamburlaine* had there been such profuse employment of chariots on the stage as we find in this piece, though at court in the Jacobean period they were frequently to be seen in masques and triumphs. Moreover, in very few theatre plays can the frequent descents and ascents of divinities be paralleled. In *The Triumph of Time*, sc. ii, we even get simultaneous descents of Jupiter and Mercury, hardly a theatre feat, and certainly not a feat accomplished in any of the Jacobean masques. Court scenic machinery must have reached a considerable pitch of perfection before that precise spectacular effect could have been procured. Moreover, in the first play, *The Triumph of Honour*, there is a magical change unlike anything to be found in early seventeenth-century drama but like sundry scenic transformations which had been seen in the court masque. Scene ii represents a rocky view before Athens. Towards its close we get the direction: "Solemn music. A mist ariseth, the rocks remove." In the concluding masque there was also a rock, a symbolical golden one, which spurted out flames when Plutus struck it. In the sixteenth century this was a conventional court effect. (Cunningham, "Revels Accounts," pp. 144 and 146.)

It is noteworthy that Reyher ("Les Masques Anglais," Appendix, p. 528) in discussing *Neptune's Triumphs*, the aborted court masque of January, 1624, refers to a carpenter's account preserved in the Audit Office, reference "(W) B. 2424 R 54," detailing the "makeing a rocke in the vault vnder the banquetting house, setting upp degrees and making ready the banquetting house for the maske, etc., etc." But this rock can hardly have been for *Neptune's Triumph* or for *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* that succeeded it twelve months later and absorbed all of its scenic details. Not in the book of either is there any hint of the employment of a rock. It looks to me as if this unwieldy property was prepared for *Four Plays in One*. But what then could have been the event this composite play was written to celebrate? Nothing suitable in the records of 1623-24 presents itself. The play could hardly have been prepared to celebrate the nuptials of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta, Donna Maria, as it was known in October, 1623, that all idea of the match had been definitely abandoned. If we are to date it anywhere about this period, I see nothing for it but to assume that it

was written in honour of the Prince's alliance with Henrietta Maria early in 1625.

One reason why I formerly dated *Four Plays in One* 1613 was because of a certain similarity of theme between its concluding masque and Chapman's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn* of that date. In the former, Plutus enters surrounded by singing and dancing Indians who acknowledge him as master. Labour, Industry and the Arts appear. Anthropos is borne to a rock which Plutus strikes; flames fly out, and Anthropos gives thanks to Jupiter on beholding a mine of gold. Plutus then departs for Virginia, accompanied by Industry and Labour. What I see now and failed to grasp formerly is that Virginian affairs were quite as much on the tapis at the close of the first James's reign as they were in its meridian. Proof: in August, 1623, Herbert licensed for the Curtain players "A Tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia," adding to his record, "the profaneness to be left out, otherwise not tolerated" (Adams, "Herbert," p. 24).

It is vital to note also that a stage direction in the concluding masque in *Four Plays in One* shows that the play was written for performance on a masque stage of the middle period. It occurs in the last scene and runs:—

> "One half a cloud is drawn. Singers are discovered: then the other half drawn."

The withdrawal of the second half reveals Jupiter in all his glory. A disclosure such as this was only possible on a stage sheltered behind a proscenium arch, a court masque stage as contradistinguished from the open platform of the contemporary theatres. The *modus operandi* can readily be deduced from Inigo Jones's maturer scheme of mounting, and particularly from his sectional design for *Salmacida Spolia*, preserved in Lansdowne MS. 1171. As in our latterday theatre, the masque stage in its middle period had sky borders but they were not of the latterday arrangement. Instead of being all of a piece and working perpendicularly, these "clouds" as they were called, were each in two or three sections and drew off horizontally. In this, as well as in being suspended on a sort of tramway, they followed the contemporary Italian scenic system. Here we have the secret of the common masque-direction, "the clouds divide." This

arrangement was afterwards adopted on the Restoration picture stage, as exemplified by the direction in Duffet's burlesque of 1678 entitled *Psyche Debauch'd*, in the fifth act of which we get: "Trumpets are heard afar off, the Heavens divide; and from the farthest end Mercury flies down attended by Fame, and the whole Heaven appears adorn'd with Angels and Musick." Subsequently these clouds were known in theatrical argot as "cloudings"; and it is significant that in an extant inventory made in Covent Garden in 1743 we have among the items, "A hook to draw off the cloudings."

I am no great believer in the evidential value of stylistic resemblances, and I do not pretend to be able to tell you what writers collaborated on *Four Plays in One*. All the same, I happen to have stumbled across a curious trace of Fletcher in *The Triumph of Love*, the second play of the series. In scene v, for the normal "enter behind" which mostly connotes eavesdropping, we get "enter privately," thus: "Enter Ferdinand, and Benvoglio privately after him"; which means that Benvoglio showed himself between the curtains of the rear stage. Now, this use of the term "privately" is peculiar to Fletcher. We find examples in stage directions in *The Loyal Subject*, III. 3; *The Little French Lawyer*, III. 1; and *The Prophetess*, IV. 5. These three plays are all of a period, running from November 1618 to May 1622. I take leave to think that this method of identification is quite as sound as some of the more elaborate tests, and am amused therefore to find that Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes (p. 206) is confident that Field wrote *The Triumph of Love*.

If Lawrence be right in his dating, I must be wrong in my attribution; and, if my attribution be right, his dating cannot be correct. I have a few comments to make on his very interesting view. First, I do not consider that the reference in *A Wife for a Month* necessarily implies a similar date for *Four Plays*. Secondly, Frigoso's quoted speech does not infer a performance for ladies only. If it did, they would not be asked to make room for a man. Thirdly, as Lawrence admits, the epilogue "reads as if addressed to an ordinary audi-

ence." Surely, in view of that fact, it is reasonable to regard the work as not originally for the Court. The arguments for a Court performance are incontrovertible, and those for a late presentation such as Lawrence supposes are undeniably strong; but the most reasonable view to take, it seems to me, is that Fletcher revised the work at the late date suggested, so as to fit it for the possibilities of Court performance. That would account for the developed character of Fletcher's verse to which I have already directed attention. Fourthly, if the use of the term "Enter privately" be peculiar to Fletcher, it does not mean that he was necessarily the author of the scene in which it occurs. The author may have omitted stage directions; and Fletcher, if revising the play for Court presentation, as I have suggested, may well have inserted it. Was the use of the term peculiarly his, however? The occurrences in *The Prophetess* and *The Little French Lawyer* are both in Massinger scenes—which is not to say that the directions may not have been supplied by Fletcher.

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that Chelli adheres to the old ascription of the Induction and the first two plays to Beaumont, and the last two plays to Fletcher.

### 46. *The Honest Man's Fortune.*

This very interesting play exists in two versions, the printed one, as given in the folios, and a manuscript one, which contains alterations for production and a different close to the final scene.

Beyond its inclusion in the folios, the only external evidence as to its authorship is afforded by its ascription

to Fletcher in Kirkman's catalogue. The manuscript tells us that it was acted in 1613. Among the actors who played in it were Field, Benfield, Reade, Taylor, Egglestone, and Basse. This list seems, as Chambers says, to suggest the Lady Elizabeth's company after the Queen's Revels Children had joined up with it in March, 1612-3; and, as Egglestone left the company not later than 1612-3, it must have been in that March that the piece was played. It passed into the hands of the King's men not later than February, 1624-5, when it was reallowed for them, and it figures in the King's list of 1641.

Fleay ascribed it to Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and Daborne, for no other reason than that it was "from internal evidence evidently written by four authors, of whom Fletcher and Massinger are two," and that it was therefore in all probability "the play of Mr Fletcher and ours," alluded to by Daborne in the famous begging letter of Field, Daborne, and Massinger. Bullen seemed inclined to follow Fleay; Boyle thought it the work of Beaumont, Fletcher, Tourneur, and Massinger; and Macaulay, disbelieving in Beaumont, agreed in thinking it the work of four authors—Tourneur, Massinger, Field, and Fletcher. I, too, like every one else, saw four hands; but I ventured to name only three—Field, Fletcher, and Massinger.[1] Soon after my views were

[1] My division, allowing for the fact that I split my present II. 4 into two scenes, was as follows:

Fd—II. 2b-4, III. 3b, IV. 1, 2b
Fl—V
M—III. 1-3a (to Mallicorn's exit)
4th author—I, II. 1, (?) 2a (to Dubois' entry)
M and Fd—IV. 2a (to Lamira's entry)

published, however, I became convinced that my fourth author was Tourneur, whom I had been kept from recognizing by the attribution to him of the altogether different *Revenger's Tragedy*. In 1613 there was no one but Tourneur who had put out a play written in the style of *The Atheist's Tragedy*. As I remarked in an article in "Modern Philology," January, 1911, the style differs here in that Tourneur has dropped rhyme, which elsewhere he used sparingly, and that he does not end his speeches with his lines, and I have since discovered other differences, of which more later; but I have, nevertheless, little doubt of this author being Tourneur.

Later investigators are M. Chelli, who denies Massinger's participation; Mr. Sykes, who declares for "at least" four authors, substituting Webster for Tourneur; and Mr. Wells, who, after giving the usual four, has since added Webster as a fifth, his belief being that "probably neither Fletcher nor Massinger was in the first edition of the play." My own view is that the play has to be divided among five, as I feel that Sykes is right in seeing Webster's presence. My allotment is:

T—I, II. 1, 3

W—II. 2, 4a (to Montague's entry—the first speech certainly, the rest doubtfully), III. 1b (the prose), 2b, d, 3b, d (three speeches following Montague's exit), f

Fd—II. 4b (with some W, while Mallicorn is on the stage), IV, V. 3b (from "*Ami.* I will not say how much I owe you for it")

Fl—V. 1-3a

M—III. 2a (five speeches), c (from Orleans' entry to the sword-drawing), 3a (four speeches), c (from "*Mont.* Though you take privilege"), e (Lamira's last speech)

W and M—III. 1a, c

The Beaumontesque final dialogue of I. 1 may be Field's, and the twelve speeches following Lamira's exit in IV. 1 may possibly be by Fletcher; I. 3 contains resemblances to Field's work.

Massinger's work seems to be revisory, and was, I take it, done in 1624-5, when the play was reallowed. Though the manuscript is marked "as played in 1613," it is quite likely to have been a clean copy, containing later revision. I have had some hesitancy in including Massinger; but what I have marked as his insertions are very characteristic of him and of his principles and methods of revision. His presence has been so generally recognized that I scarcely need to give proofs of it. The most typical passage is that at the beginning of III. 2, part of which I quoted in "E. S." There are in IV. 2 a couple of speeches looking remarkably like one of his insertions for the creation of verisimilitude. Orleans bids the lacqueys not interrupt the approaching duel; and then we have this:

> "*Dubois.* Except you see
> Strangers or others, that by chance or purpose
> Are like to interrupt us.
> *Orl.* Then give warning."

Massinger liked to leave nothing to the imagination; and this may well be his, especially in view of the splitting of the instructions between two speakers.

Fleay gives I. 1-II. 1 to Massinger, because of the weak endings, II. 2-4 to Daborne; and III and IV to Field. Boyle, on the contrary, gives I-II to Tourneur, III to Massinger, and IV to Beaumont. Bullen agrees in thinking the third act, or part of it, Massinger's, and considers that Fleay's "suggestion that the fourth act

(with perhaps part of the third) belongs to Field is very plausible." Acts I and II he gives to "some other playwright:" and he denies that "a trace of Beaumont's hand can be found." That Daborne had nothing to do with the authorship of this play as it stands should be plain to any one who has read *The Poor Man's Comfort* and *The Christian turn'd Turk;* and I fear that "the play of Mr Fletcher and ours" is lost. Boyle's error in supposing the author of IV. 1 to be Beaumont is understandable, for the resemblances between Field and Beaumont are numerous. He probably thought of Bellario, and said "Veramour is from the same hand," but the pathos of Field is of much the same stamp, and Veramour is as much like Lady Honour as Bellario. The opening of the scene

> "Now, Montague, who discerns thy spirit now,
> Thy breeding, or thy blood? Here's a poor cloud
> Eclipseth all thy splendour: Who can read
> In thy pale face, dead eye, or Lenten suit
> The liberty thy ever-giving hand
> Hath bought for others, manacling itself
> In gyves of parchment indissoluble,"

has certainly all the "run" of Field; and this (from the same scene),

> "And thus we'll breed
> A story to make every hearer weep,
> When they discourse our fortunes and our loves,"

may be compared with the following from his part of *The Knight of Malta* (V. 1):

> "Think on the legend which we two shall breed,
> Continuing as we are, for chastest dames
> And boldest soldiers to peruse and read."

Sykes directs attention to the use in IV of "manacle" as a verb, as in scene 2 of *The Triumph of Love*, and of "Art thou there, basilisk?" as in scene 2 of *The Triumph of Honour*. I may mention that of eight verse-tests which I applied, four pointed to and four away from Beaumont, while three were suitable and five unsuitable for Field.

Macaulay suggested that Act I was by Tourneur, III. 1 by Massinger, IV by Field, and V by Fletcher, but branded the rest doubtful. More's only contribution to the question is that I and II have a few instances of the use of "ye," though less than usual with Fletcher (which is not strange, considering they are not Fletcher's), and that his test shows V to be Fletcher's, and III and IV not. Alden expresses an opinion regarding only "the opening scenes of Act IV," of which he says, "Oliphant is doubtless right in thinking that they are probably the work of Field or some other imitator" of Beaumont. Sykes has done valuable service in discovering the presence of Webster; but the only act about which he seems certain is V, which he gives to Fletcher. He declares I to be "of doubtful authorship, perhaps Webster's," III he assigns to Webster and Massinger, IV to Field, with a query, and II to Webster. He considers that "there is much mixed writing," and seems to think that Massinger is concerned in II, and some other in IV. He pronounces I. 1 "certainly most puzzling."

The presence of Webster is plainly to be seen in the prose. Of some twenty or thirty definite indications of

him that I jotted down, but one occurred in a verse part. Here are passages very characteristic of him:

"And how runs rumour?

*Lav.* Why, it runs, my lord, like a footman without a cloak, to show that what once is rumoured cannot be hid.

*Orl.* And what say the rabble? am not I the subject of their talk?

. . . . . .

*Lav.* Faith, the men do a little murmur at it, and say 'tis an ill precedent in so great a man; marry, the women, they rail outright."

(II. 2.)

"*Lam.* How like you the country?

*Ver.* I like the air of it well, madam; and the rather because, as on Irish timber your spider will not make his web, so, for aught I see yet, your cheater, pandar, and informer, being in their dispositions too foggy for this piercing climate, shun it, and choose rather to walk in mists in the city."

(III. 1.)

"The snake that would be a dragon and have wings must eat a spider; and what implies that but this, that in this cannibal age he that would have the suit of wealth must not care whom he feeds on? And, as I have heard, no flesh battens better than that of a professed friend; and he that would mount to honour must not make dainty to use the head of his mother, back of his father, or neck of his brother for ladders to his preferment; for, but observe, and you shall find, for the most part, cunning Villainy sit at a feast as principal guest, and innocent Honesty wait as a contemned servant with a trencher."

(III. 3.)

Such passages are very characteristic of the sententiousness, the cynicism, the railing, and the quaint lore of Webster. His fancy for prefacing his gibes and his lessons and his parables with "I have heard" is illustrated here (as also twice in III. 1), as is his habit of bidding his listeners "observe" (as again later in this scene).

As confirmation or otherwise of my view of Tourneur's authorship of the opening portion of this play, I have applied some thirty tests to I. 1 and also to the first scene of Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy*. The following close resemblances are shown: medial pauses on unaccented syllables, *HMF*, 88.5 per cent; *AT*, 72.7 per cent: stressed endings, 70.5; 72.9: definitely unstressed endings, 23.9; 19.4: pauseless lines, 43.1; 39.8: percentage of pauses to feet, 14.1; 14: percentage of medial pauses on first foot, 18.6; 14.7: do. on third foot, 33.8; 32.4. Altogether I obtained 11 close resemblances and 8 marked divergencies, among the latter being—broken lines, *HMF*, 20.3 per cent; *AT*, 8.5 per cent: unbroken speeches, 12.6; 48.4: end-stopt lines, 28; 47.6: percentage of medial pauses on fourth foot, 10.5; *nil:* pauses on unstressed syllables, 6.2; 12.1. It may be remarked that the sub-title of *The Atheist's Tragedy* is "The Honest Man's Revenge." I must in fairness point out the possibility of the part I have allotted to Tourneur being, instead, the work of a later dramatist writing for the production in 1624-5, when Tourneur's style of versification had become common. Attention may be directed to the number of puns and jokes in I. 1. There is something of this tendency in *The Atheist's Tragedy*. In case any one may wish to identify this play (I fancy some one has already done so) with Tourneur's lost *Nobleman*, I may point out that both it and *The Honest Man's Fortune* appear in the King's list of 1641, so that it is out of the question for them to be the same play.

There are many signs of diversity of authorship. La-

Poop is spoken of sometimes as a land-captain, and sometimes as a sea-captain. The author of II. 2 calls Lamira "Annabella," according to the folios; but in the manuscript she has her right name, this indicating presumably that the play had been reduced to uniformity. In III. 3 there seems to be a speech of Montague's omitted, immediately after the departure of the ladies; but this probably implies only abridgment. There is a strange inconsistency in Lamira's conduct in IV. 1 and V. 3. In the former she confesses love for Amiens; in the latter she casts him aside for Montague. This may perhaps be held to indicate that the ending has been altered; but I do not think that such is the case. It may also be pointed out that the fifth act constitutes an anti-climax. I feel certain that Massinger's work was only revisory; and I believe that Fletcher's was also. Whether the work of the other three was all done at the one time is a matter on which I do not venture an opinion. I do, however, definitely consider that Webster's work was not done at the same time as Massinger's. If I be right in my dating of the play, Fletcher's work was probably done with Massinger's, in 1624, since in 1612-3 he was with King's.

In the manuscript nine speeches and a chorus laugh, all by Field, are displaced by eight speeches preceding the concluding speech. This alternative version does not look much like Field's work; but it may be, though hardly as he wrote it. As it would be stupid to suppose another author for so small a fragment, I give it to Field; but that is my only reason for doing so.

### 47. *The Knight of Malta.*

Acted by Burbage, Field, Underwood, Sharpe, Condell, Benfield, Lowin, and Holcombe, this play clearly belonged to the King's men and was produced not later than 1618-9 (the date of Burbage's death), and not earlier than 1615-6, by reason of the presence of Field; but I think we may get a little closer by taking note of the varying casts of this play, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Mad Lover*, and *The Loyal Subject*. From the absence of Tooley's name from the list of *The Knight of Malta* and *The Mad Lover* I draw no inference, because Tooley was certainly with the company both earlier than the earliest of these four plays and later than the latest; and the same may be assumed of Benfield, who was not in *The Queen of Corinth* or *The Loyal Subject*. Pollard is only in *The Queen of Corinth*, and Holcombe only in that play and this with which I am dealing; but neither was at that time a sufficiently important actor to warrant us in treating his presence or absence as of much significance. Underwood is absent from the *Mad Lover* list; but that is probably only because there are but seven names given in that case instead of the usual eight. In any case, Underwood was certainly with the company both earlier and later. As Sharpe was not in *The Queen of Corinth*, but in the other three, we may assume that he joined the company after the production of that play, which was consequently the first of the bunch. That is the one thing that seems pretty certain. For the rest, Egglestone is in *The Loyal Subject* and *The Mad Lover;* wherefore we may perhaps place *The Knight of Malta* next. If that

be correct, it must belong to 1616, since *The Queen of Corinth* is not earlier than that year, and *The Mad Lover* is not later. I therefore date these four plays

*The Queen of Corinth*, early in 1616
*The Knight of Malta*, about the middle of 1616
*The Mad Lover*, late in 1616
*The Loyal Subject*, November, 1618

*The Knight of Malta* occurs in the King's list of 1641, but separated from the list of Beaumont and Fletcher plays, though it follows *The Widow*. The only indication of its authorship is afforded by its inclusion in the folios. Fleay considered it to be by Fletcher, Massinger, and Field; Boyle, by Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger; Ward, by Beaumont and Fletcher; Macaulay, ditto, though he afterwards changed to Fletcher, Massinger, and another, with a style "somewhat like that of Field, but better than his usual work"; and Bullen, by Fletcher, Massinger, and another (not Beaumont). Schelling thinks that "Fletcher has submitted an older play, not impossibly Beaumont's, to a complete revision." Cruickshank traces Massinger only in III. 2, but believes he may have assisted elsewhere. Sykes and Wells give the play to Fletcher, Massinger, and Field. Chelli and Gayley allot it to the same three, though the latter is not sure of Field.

My division is practically unaltered, consisting only of the removal of the three short speeches ending "Would one of ye would leave me!" in I. 1 from Fletcher, and the seventh speech in IV. 1 from Massinger, and the abandonment of the idea of there being remains of an earlier writer in four of Field's

scenes; but, as before, I feel no certainty regarding the first and last acts. My division is:

Fd—I, V
Fl—II. 1-III. 1, 4, IV. 1b (seventh speech), 2, 4b
M—III. 2, 3, IV. 1a, c, 3, 4a (to Norandine's entry)

Fleay gives Fletcher IV. 3 and all IV. 4. Bullen expresses no opinion on III. 4 or IV. 2-4, and gives part of V. 2 to Massinger. Macaulay awards Fletcher II, III. 2, IV. 2-4; Massinger, III. 2 and (?) IV. 1; and his unknown, I, V. Sykes declares I and V to be by Field.

There is not much difficulty regarding the Fletcher and Massinger portions of the play. I judge IV. 1 to have been originally Fletcher's, practically entirely rewritten by Massinger, probably for a revival. In III. 3 we have Massinger using "mulct" as in *The Duke of Milan*, IV. 3; and another contact with that play is, as T. W. Baldwin points out, afforded by the breaking of news by Abdella to Mountferrat in IV. 1. The opening and closing acts present quite a puzzle. Of eight tests applied by me to the latter, six are suitable to Field; but just as many are suitable to Beaumont. The second scene of Act I is Field's, and may be compared in style with II. 2 of *The Fatal Dowry;* but the authorship of the other scenes is not so clear. The first speech of I. 1 seems to be Field's, but the next four speeches might be out of an early play, and the question arises, are they a fragment of such a play or was Field the dramatist influenced in his writing by the sort of stuff Field the actor had had to learn? The same question faces us in regard to the second last speeches of both

Zanthia and Mountferrat and the latter's final speech, while the first half of the intervening speech of Zanthia's is much more like William Rowley than either Field or an early writer. It is a singular fact that both in I. 1 and in I. 3 an allusion to the Bashaw's letter should be in wofully prosaic verse. Are we to believe that the mere mention of the matter deprived Field of all his metrical skill and all his not inconsiderable poetic instinct? or are we to commit ourselves to the theory that half of Zanthia's last speech in I. 1 and the unmetrical passage in I. 3 are the only vestiges of another writer? They cannot be later insertions, for they are essential; but they may indeed be passages retained from an old original play. In this connection, one may note the early style and poor verse of Colonna's principal speech in V. 2, telling of his being captured and sent to Constantinople.

Very hesitatingly, then, because I am not sure that some of the work should not be credited to another writer, I give I and V to Field. Even the Rowley-like speech in I. 1 I attribute to him, because he has shown elsewhere (*e.g.*, in *Amends*, V. 2, Lady Bright's speech in putting on the ring) that, despite the ordinarily pleasant run of his verse, he can drop now and then into a very prosaic rhythm. Act V, scene 1, contains nothing markedly like him, but nothing that may not be his, and it is certainly neither Fletcher's nor Massinger's; and the same may be said of V. 2 and the greater part of I. 3. If I credit him with the portion of the latter scene lying between Miranda's exit and the close of the awfully unmusical speech already referred to, it is because I think it preferable to do so

rather than to bring in another author. If then I allot the play to Fletcher, Massinger, and Field, I am by no means certain that there is not present a fourth writer also. One has now and then a reminder of Beaumont, but I do not regard him as having had anything to do with the play. Oriana is not a Beaumontesque woman: she not merely shows her innocence; she protests it. The fourth last line of I. 1,

> "Night makes their hues alike; their use is so,"

may be compared with

> "Never talk of faces:
> The night allows her equal with a duchess,"

in I. 2 of *The Noble Gentleman;* but that is not a parallel to build on. A line in I. 3,

> "From this time let me never read again,"

has the very air of Beaumont; but it occurs again in but slightly different form in *The Triumph of Love*, where it seems to be Field's. Sykes gives two significant parallels with *The Triumph of Honour* and one with *The Triumph of Love;* but these carry less weight than one with *Amends for Ladies*, since the authorship of that play is hardly to be questioned.

That Fleay should have given IV. 4a to Fletcher in face of such lines as these is surprising:

> "Villains,
> Whose baseness all disgraceful words made one
> Cannot express! so strong is the good cause
> That seconds me, that you shall feel, with horror
> To your proud hopes, what strength is in that arm,
> Though old, that holds a sword made sharp by justice.

*Gom.* Treacherous, bloody woman!
What hast thou done?
*Zanth.* Done a poor woman's part,
And in an instant, what these men so long
Stood fooling for.
*Mount.* This aid was unexpected:
I kiss thee for't.
*Rocca.* His right arm's only shot;
And that compell'd him to forsake his sword:
He's else unwounded."

I must also point out that, if there be a fourth author present, he may possibly be Daborne. Not earlier than 1613 and not later than 1615, Massinger, Field, and Daborne were concerned with Fletcher in the writing of a play for Henslowe. In this play three of these men are concerned, and it is possible that there may be a fourth present. Assuming that there is a fourth, is that fourth Daborne? *The Knight of Malta* was acted by the King's men in or about 1616; but it may possibly have been the play written for Henslowe, produced then, purchased by the King's men on Henslowe's death, and reproduced by them after they had been joined by three of the four collaborators. In that case Daborne's part would probably be largely rewritten, especially as his literary ability was markedly inferior to that of the others. It may be indeed that he was a collaborator only by reason of having provided the plot; and it is noteworthy in this connection that one of his two extant plays is *A Christian turn'd Turk*, and that, as already pointed out, the most doubtful parts of *The Knight of Malta* are the references to the Bashaw of Tripoli and to Constantinople. I make this suggestion; but I cannot myself accept it, since I see no

trace of Daborne's hand, and I can hardly think that nothing whatever of his work would be left. I was at one time inclined to think, after abandoning the idea of an older writer, that some of the more wooden passages were insertions by William Rowley, engaged to abridge the play, after Fletcher's death; but I saw no sufficient warrant for such a view. I doubt, however, if the play is all of one period. I have shown that Massinger seems to have rewritten Fletcher in one scene; and also there are circumstances hinting of revision. Act III, scene 2, begins as if something introductory has been lost. At the end of V. 1 Miranda threatens to try Oriana still further; yet, when they next appear, we find that he has arranged with her how she is to act, to be restored to her husband. This does not look like identical authorship of the two scenes of V; but it may mean abridgment, or, still likelier, revision. Though I give both scenes to Field, the most natural explanation seems to be double authorship of some sort. It is to be noted that Massinger has given Zanthia the name of "Abdella," and that she appears in the list of characters as "Zanthia, *alias* Abdella."

### 48. *The Queen of Corinth.*

This play, which is a meritorious one, though it never receives its meed of praise, was a King's men's play, acted by Burbage, Condell, Underwood, Pollard, Field, Lowin, Tooley, and Holcombe. I have shown in the discussion on *The Knight of Malta* that this play probably dates early in 1616. (Lawrence says 1617.) As it contains a very clear allusion to Coryat's "Greeting," published 1616, it cannot be earlier than that year,

unless we are to look upon this allusion as an interpolation. It should date from the lifetime of Coryat (who died in 1617), or at least prior to the arrival in England of the news of his death.

Dyce considered the play the work of Fletcher and Rowley; Fleay awarded it to Massinger, Field, and Fletcher; Bullen, to Fletcher, Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley (perhaps the result of Gifford's discovery of resemblances between this drama and *The Old Law*, which is attributed to all of these authors save Fletcher); Ward, to Fletcher and (?) Massinger; Macaulay, to Fletcher, Massinger, and another; and Boyle, to Fletcher, Massinger, and (?) Field. Cruickshank divides it between Fletcher and Massinger. Chelli, Sykes, and Wells agree in adding Field. Lawrence ascribes it to Fletcher and Field, revised later by Massinger.[1] Stork sees another author than Fletcher, but is only concerned to deny that that other is Rowley.

My own verdict is in favor of Fletcher, Massinger, and Field; and my division is precisely what it was before:

M—I, V. 1, 2, 4
Fl—II
Fd—III, IV
Fl and Fd—V. 3

[1] In a note this authority says: "Either written by Fletcher and Massinger, or by Fletcher and Field with Massinger as a subsequent reviser. The corrupt form of the play points to revision. IV. 4 opens with a dumb show, a device eschewed by Beaumont and Fletcher. It was evidently introduced to link up the action and summarize something eliminated. In V. 3 the Queen says 'Persuade me not, Euphanes,' though Euphanes is not the last speaker, and the last speaker, Agenor, has attempted no persuasion." The persuasion may, however, have been whispered while Agenor was speaking.

Bullen mistakes Field for Middleton and Rowley. Otherwise my only difference with him and Boyle and Sykes is that they give all V to Massinger. Fleay mistakes I. 3a, 4, for Fletcher, and V. 3 for Massinger. Cruickshank allots Massinger, I. 1, 2, 3 (from "Enter Agenor"), V. 2; and Fletcher, I. 3, II. 1-4, III. 1, 2, V. 3. He thinks that V. 4 is not due to Massinger, and says, "The impression that I get from III is that Massinger drafted it, and Fletcher worked over it." I cannot understand the unanimity in according V. 3 to Massinger. It seems to me pure Field, save for this one interpolation by Fletcher:

> "Oh, my honor!
> My honor blasted in the bud! my youth,
> My hopeful youth, and all my expectation
> Ever to be a man, are lost for ever."

Even this may possibly be Field's; but I do not think that it can be Massinger's.

The occurrence of "Pish!" in III. 1, 2, and IV. 4 induces me to point out how favorite an ejaculation it is with Field. He uses it four times in *A Woman*, eight times in *Amends*, and once in *The Fatal Dowry*, of which he was but part-author. Here it does not occur outside the Field portion. It was, indeed, not an expression affected by Fletcher, and was but rarely used by Massinger. "'Slight" also appears twice in the Field portion, and not elsewhere. I may remark that I see no particular signs of Field in IV. 2 and 4, but consider them presumably his, like the rest of the act. The following passage in IV. 1—

> "Oh,
> Black clouds of discontent envelop me!

Garters, fly off; go, hatband, bind the brows
Of some dull citizen that fears to ache;
And, leg, appear now in simplicity,
Without the trappings of a courtier!
Burst, buttons, burst: your bachelor is worm'd!
. . . . . .
And, devil Melancholy, possess me now!
. . . . . .
Burn, eyes, out in your sockets, sink, and stink!"—

may not unfitly be compared with the following from I. 2 of *A Woman is a Weathercock* by those who doubt Field's presence: it is surely the same voice speaking:

"Off, garters blue,
Which signify Sir Abram's love was true!
Off, cypress black, for thou befits not me:
Thou art not cypress of the cypress-tree,
Befitting lovers! Out, green shoe-strings, out!
Wither in pocket, since my Luce doth pout!
Gush, eyes! thump, hand! swell, heart! buttons, fly open!"

Of eight verse-tests I applied to this portion of the play, seven fit Beaumont, and six fit Field.

There are distinct marks of mixed authorship and probably of revision. Everywhere the fool is called "Onos" in the stage directions, but in the text Massinger calls him "Lamprias" in I, and Field does likewise in III. 1 and V. 3. Fletcher, however, names him "Onos" in II. 4, and calls the uncle "Lampree." Note that there is no allusion to Onos' treble till III. 1, when Field makes a point of it. The Tutor also differs in that scene, being made pedantically and absurdly eloquent. Is not "shadow'd in a sable cloud" (III. 2) such an old-time tag as the actor Field easily brought to mind and was fond of using?

## *The Remaining Plays in which Beaumont was Concerned.*

OF the five plays I consider here, some critics would agree to the inclusion of *Wit at several Weapons*, and some would take *Love's Cure*. A few would add to the section *The Captain* and *The Coxcomb*. *The Birth of Merlin* would not be classed anywhere; and *The Nice Valour* and *Love's Pilgrimage* would be placed elsewhere.

### 49. *The Birth of Merlin.*

There is but one investigator—Mr. William Wells—who has demanded a place for this play among the Beaumont and Fletcher set; but, though he has stood alone, I believe him to be right. Of external evidence in favor of this attribution there is not a jot. What there is is to the effect that *The Birth of Merlin* is the work of Shakespeare and William Rowley. It first saw the light as a printed play when it was issued by Kirkman and Marsh as by these two authors. As I pointed out in that article in "Modern Philology" (January, 1911) to which I have already referred in another connection, this may be held to be strong evidence in the case of Rowley, and weak evidence in the case of Shakespeare, because in 1662 Rowley's name was of no weight whatever, while Shakespeare's still had a selling value. While, therefore, it is possible that Shakespeare's name may have been attached to the play with intent to defraud, it is extremely unlikely that Rowley's would be so used except in good faith. We may, I think, assume

that Rowley's name was on the manuscript from which the play was printed or that some one vouched for his authorship. We must then regard the external evidence as strongly favoring Rowley's part-authorship, but as being considerably more dubious regarding Shakespeare's. What, in any case, we may look upon as absolutely certain is, that Langbaine is not correct in saying, in his "History of the English Dramatic Poets," published in 1691, that Rowley wrote the play *with* Shakespeare. If Rowley be in it, it is probably only as a reviser, certainly not as the collaborator of Shakespeare.

When we come to consider the question of date, we have to note that in December, 1596, the Admiral's men acted a new play called "Valtiger"—that is to say, Vortiger, who appears in *The Birth of Merlin*—and that in the following April the same company acted another new play named after another historical or semi-historical or legendary character who also figures in this play, Uter Pendragon. In June, 1597, an old play, almost certainly one of these two, was staged by the same company under the name of "Hengest." Now we know "Hengest" to be an alternative name of Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough*, a play in which Hengest, who does not appear in *The Birth of Merlin*, Uter Pendragon, and Vortigern all appear. The name would be quite appropriate, as would be that of Vortiger; but the name of Uter would not be, since the part he plays is a very minor one. I have no hesitation therefore in identifying Middleton's play with "Valtiger." It may be supposed then, and has been suggested, that the other play is to be identified with *The Birth of Merlin;*

but, though the name of "Uter Pendragon" would fit it reasonably well, and probably fitted it perfectly in its original form, I feel quite confident that this is not the Admiral's men's play. That, within five months of producing a play on the subject of Vortigern, they would present another play covering the same ground is extremely unlikely. I take *Uter Pendragon* to have been rather a continuation of the other play, taking up the thread of events from the death of Vortigern, with which *The Mayor of Quinborough* ends. *The Birth of Merlin* is much more likely to have been a rival play; since it was a common practice of the Elizabethan theater, when a company scored a success with a new play, for a competing company to rush out a rival to it. I believe that if *The Birth of Merlin* belongs to the sixteenth century, it and *The Mayor of Quinborough* were such rival plays, and hold that there is little probability of the correctness of the not uncommon view that the two plays were produced by the one company and even came from the one mint. If, however, Rowley's hand be in *The Birth of Merlin*, his work must have been done considerably later, since, so far as we know, he did not enter the dramatic lists until about 1606. The clownery is not unlike his work, and may have been added by him to take the place of scenes of a romantic cast; but it must be admitted that much of it seems inseparable from the story, which, however, may itself be foreign to the original drama. If these facts be held to point to Rowley's original authorship, the play cannot date before the first decade of the seventeenth century.

This is, in fact, when Stork and Tucker Brooke place

it. The latter judges that "From the language and grammar, as well as from the general tone, it is clear that *The Birth of Merlin* was not composed later than the reign of James I, nor is it at all likely that it antedates James's accession." Stork is more definite. He considers that it is "evidently in Rowley's earlier manner," and that he is therefore "fairly safe in placing the date *ante* 1608." Hopkinson, on the contrary, dates it later than 1620, because of the mention in III. 4 of Hockley in the Hole, which "appears to have sprung into existence some forty years or so before the Restoration." Fleay's view was that the drama was "clearly a refashioning by Rowley of an old play"; and he dated the revision about 1622. For myself, I can only say that I had marked it down long ago as having indications of being much later in date than was usually supposed; but I could never get away from the difficulty of the relationship to *The Mayor of Quinborough,* which is, however, much later in style than one would have reason to expect. It may be then that *The Birth of Merlin* was brought out in rivalry to *The Mayor of Quinborough,* not at the latter's original production, but at an early seventeenth century revival. F. A. Howe, in "Modern Philology," Volume IV, after showing the similarity of the language of the two plays, and arguing that one must be an imitation of the other, points out that *The Birth of Merlin* is probably the later of the two, since the other follows history the more closely, while the invented Artesia story in *The Birth of Merlin* only follows the story of Rowena in Geoffrey of Monmouth and that of Roxena in *The Mayor of Quinborough.* Greg remarks that the stories of the two plays

are connected, but are "not quite consistent." On the whole, it seems as if we are free to take for the date of the original play any time from the closing decade of the sixteenth century to the second decade of the seventeenth, and for the date of revision any time from the first decade of the seventeenth to the third. The clearest finger-post is afforded by the use of "Great Britons" in III. 1, which seems very definitely to give a date subsequent to the proclamation of Great Britain, November, 1604; but are we to attribute it to the original writing or to a revision?

That there has been revision, or at least abridgment, is abundantly evident. Toclio is mute in half-a-dozen scenes; Oswald, in four; and Cador, in one. In III. 6 Gloster's entry is unmarked, but he speaks. In II. 3 Oswald and Toclio both enter twice. The earlier entry might be supposed an error, but for the fact that Oswald is addressed prior to his second entry. The reason for Uter's disappearance is never properly accounted for. There is no reference to Vortiger till III. 4, and till III. 6 no explanation of who he is. There should surely be shown the scene between Donobert and the Hermit, which is led up to in III. 2; the fragment in V. 2 scarcely suffices. The two visions of Merlin should be yet another indication of double authorship or revision; but, as a matter of fact, both appear to be from the one hand.

Daniel suggested Middleton's authorship; Hopkinson, Rowley's; Howe,[1] Middleton and Rowley's;

[1] Howe's division is: Md, I. 1, 2, II. 2, 3, III. 2, 6, IV. 1b-4, V. 2; R, II. 1, III. 1, 4, IV. 1a (135 lines), 5, V. 1, the remaining two scenes belonging to either.

Fleay, the same, the serious parts being, in his opinion, "palpably Middleton's." Miss Wiggin urges that "Pish!" (which is frequent in the serious parts) is Middleton's ejaculation, not Rowley's. Stork declares that, "If Rowley had any . . . collaborator, he most certainly dominated his assistant. The play abounds in all of Rowley's characteristics, and might well have been his unassisted work." Finally, Wells believes it to have been originally by Beaumont and Fletcher, revised later by either Middleton or Rowley.

Wells' case is based on some remarkable resemblances he has discovered between *The Birth of Merlin* and *Cupid's Revenge*. When he attempts to account for the mode of their occurrence, I do not find his arguments convincing; but the parallels are in themselves distinctly noteworthy. They might be set down as nothing more than plagiarism; in which case they would demand only passing notice. The really vital thing, it seems to me, is that the authorship of the parallel passages seems to be the same: that is to say, the verse in which they are embedded shows the same characteristics in the two plays. In Wells' article, which appeared in "The Modern Language Review," April, 1921, after pointing out similarities in the plots of the two plays, he gives the following verbal resemblances:

"What shall we do with our companies, my lord?—

Keep them at home to increase cuckolds,
And get some cases for your captainships.
Smooth up your brows; the war has spoilt your faces"

(II. 2.)

"If I had a company, my lord,—

Of fiddlers! Thou a company!
No, no: keep thy company at home and cause cuckolds:
The war will hurt thy face. . . .
If thou wilt needs go, and go thus, get a case
For thy captainship: a shower will spoil thee else."

(*Cupid's Revenge*, I. 4.)

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"Your gross mistake would make
Wisdom herself run madding through the streets
And quarrel with her shadow. Death!
Why killed you not that woman?—.

Oh, my lord!—

The great devil take me quick! Had I been by,
And all the women of the world were barren,
She should have died ere he had married her
On these conditions.—

It is not reason that directs thee thus.—

Then have I none, for all I have directs me."

(II. 2.)

"The usage I have had, I know, would make
Wisdom herself run frantic through the streets,
And Patience quarrel with her shadow. . . . —

Why killed you her not?—

The gods forbid it!—

'Slight! if all the women in the world were barren, she had died.—

But 'tis not reason directs thee thus.

Then have I none at all; for all I have in me directs me."

(*Cupid's Revenge*, IV. 1.)

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"I am even pined away with fretting: there's nothing but flesh and bones about me"

(III. 1.)

"This morning prayer has brought me into a consumption:
I have nothing left but flesh and bones about me"

(*Wit without Money*, V. 1.)

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"You know me, sir?—

Yes, deadly sin, we know you."

(III. 6.)

"Do you not know me, lords?—

Yes, deadly sin, we know you."

(*Cupid's Revenge*, V. 2.)

"Ratsbane," as a term of address (III. 6), as in *Cupid's Revenge*, IV. 1.

---

"Wildfire and brimstone eat thee!"

(III. 6.)

"Wildfire and brimstone take thee!"

(*Cupid's Revenge*, IV. 1.)

What is the interpretation of these parallels? Is it a case of an author repeating himself or of one writer imitating another? If it be plagiarism, the borrower should be he to whose work the passages bear the less resemblance. Obviously it is the two long passages that will afford us the surest foothold here; and consideration of them brings us—at least, it brings me—to a strange conclusion—that they are not only more in the style of the reputed authors of *Cupid's Revenge* than in that of the reputed authors of *The Birth of Merlin*, but that that style is more marked in *The Birth of Merlin* passages than in those from *Cupid's Revenge*. The deduction is irresistible.

Mr. Wells has not expressed his views as to the au-

thorship of the entire play, but only upon the portions that he is inclined to accredit to Beaumont and Fletcher. The former he regards as part-author of I. 2 and III. 6a (as far as Edol's entry), and as author, perhaps with Fletcher, of II. 2a; and it is to him, I presume, that he gives the opening of III. 4, which he considers to be "clearly by the writer of IV. 3 of *Philaster*." To Fletcher he awards III. 6b (not perhaps *solus*), V. 2, and perhaps I. 1; while he thinks that III. 1, which "shows the reviser's presence very clearly," contains "at least one Fletcher jest," the fragment quoted above. He points out resemblances between the sentence on Artesia in V. 2 and the sentence on Bacha in V. 2 of *Cupid's Revenge*. He believes that the reference to talents in I. 1 "may infer that the original play was cast for the classic regions of Arcadia," and asks us to note also the Arcadian name of Artesia. The story of Basilius, used here, is taken from the "Arcadia" of Sidney, and is the basis of Day's *Isle of Gulls*.

I believe that, wherever there is external evidence in favor of any authors, it is they who should first receive consideration; so here my first attention was directed to Shakespeare and Rowley. Even in regard to such a play as *The Birth of Merlin* I refuse to allow prejudices and preconceptions to blind me to the possibility of Shakespeare being concerned. There are indeed one or two lines that seem of a Shakespearean coinage, lines that would pass unquestioned in work admittedly his. Such are

> "I commend
> The deeds of others, mine own act not free" (I. 2);
>
> "All in this all-exceeding excellence" (I. 2);

"His safety, being unquestioned, should to time
Leave the redress of sorrow" (I. 2);

"I persuade you to no ill. Persuade you then
That I persuade you well" (V. 2).

I am not going to claim Shakespeare's presence on the strength of these few lines: they are quite inadequate for such a purpose; but I do not overlook the possibility that the play may have been an early one which came into Shakespeare's hands, as so many did, for revision, and that the little work he contributed to it may have been over-written or dropped in a later extensive re-writing. I am not a believer in the deliberate dishonesty of Kirkman in the matter, and hold it to be highly probable that Shakespeare was connected with the play in some such way as I have suggested. There are in I. 1 a couple of tags that seem to imply an early date. One

"She is a woman, sir, and will be won,"

which points to the *Henry VI* trilogy, *Titus Andronicus*, and other plays of the pioneering period. The other is

"No winning without loss to either,"

which connects with *Arden of Feversham*.

My division of the play is:

B—I. 1a (?), 2a (?), II. 2b (?), c (from Uter's entry), III. 2 (?), 6a, c (?), IV. 2-4 (?)

F1—I. 1b (last speech), 2b (closing duologue), III. 1b (three speeches preceding Devil's entry) (?), 6b (from Edol's entry to the end of his last speech), IV. 1b (last six speeches)

R—II. 1 (with some F1 between Uter's entry and his exit), III. 1a, c, 3-5, IV. 1a, 5, V

B and F1—II. 2a (to Anselme's entry)

In this last-mentioned scene-section I am much more confident of Fletcher than I am of Beaumont. Indeed, all through, Fletcher's presence seems to me much the clearer; yet there are some touches of Beaumont characteristic enough to warrant his inclusion. Such a one is this, from II. 2:

> "O you immortal powers,
> Why has poor man so many entrances
> For sorrow to creep in at, when one sense
> Is much too weak to hold his happiness?"
>
> "It is a thought that takes away my sleep"

is a line in the same scene that seems stamped as his; and, as Wells points out, it is paralleled in III. 2 of *Cupid's Revenge:*

> "'Tis a truth
> That takes my sleep away."

The appeals to the divinities—"O, you immortal powers," "O, the gods," "O, the good gods" (all occurring in II)—are in his manner; and the strong Roman Catholic sentiment displayed may, as Wells thinks, be his. (It was probably not intended to represent Anselme as two-faced; but this is what has been done.) "What a dull slave was I!" (III. 6a) occurs also in *Thierry and Theodoret*, V. 1, where it is Fletcher's.[2] Similar exclamations of disgust are found in II. 1, II. 2, and III. 1 of *The Noble Gentleman*. The rhyme, "withstood—blood" at the close of IV. 1 is found also in *Cupid's Revenge*, III. 2. In the one case, it seems to be Fletcher's; in the other, Beaumont's.

For the absurd "servile slavery" (II. 2) Fletcher

[2] In IV. 4 of *Cupid's Revenge* Fletcher has "What a slave was I!"

seems to be responsible; he uses it also in *The Loyal Subject*. It is, however, probably Beaumont who has "servile treachery" in II. 2b. The objective "ye" is not, as some scholars seem to think, peculiar to Fletcher: it is found in Ford, Field, and Rowley, among others. Here, in three out of the five examples of its use, it is Rowley's; the other two seem, more doubtfully, to be Beaumont's. Fletcher uses "the great devil" in II. 2a and IV. 1b. I do not recall its occurrence in any other play. Lines in IV. 5—

> "Whither will Heaven and Fate translate this kingdom?
> What revolution, rise and fall of nations,
> Is figured yonder?"—

have a very Fletcherian appearance; but I treat them as Rowley's, because I see no other sign of Fletcher in the scene in which they occur.

Rowley has "pendulous stones" in V. 1 and "pendulous mischief" in IV. 1. He was fond of word-coining; and Stork thinks "pendulous," "pentagoron" (V. 1) and "igniferous" (IV. 5) characteristic of him.

I venture no opinion as to how or when the work of the various authors was done. As I have said, I am not satisfied with Wells' attempt to account for the facts, though, indeed, I am not quite clear as to his meaning. It may be noted that, if my division be correct, Rowley's part is entirely distinct, save for three doubtful speeches in III. 1. I may be wrong in interpreting this to mean that the Merlin and Clown parts were added by Rowley to the original play, which contained nothing of them whatever. In the Prince Uter part of II. 1, the Fletcher portion consists of the Prince's first two

speeches and the last seven preceding Toclio's entry and a share in what follows, the clownage being interposed by Rowley. The play in its first form already had a British wonder-worker in the person of Anselme. The introduction of Merlin merely duplicates this character. I may point out that the sub-title ("The Child hath found its Father"), like the title, refers to the Merlin story, and therefore, I believe, only to a revised version. This seems to constitute an exception to what I regard as the ordinary rule, that double titles refer to various versions.

As for the producing company, if it was originally a rival play to the Admiral's men's "Valtiger," it is likely to have been a Chamberlain's play and to have been touched by Shakespeare; if so, Rowley's work must have been done, as Fleay and Hopkinson surmised, in the 'twenties; yet I can hardly fancy the Beaumont and Fletcher work on it being done during their connection with the King's men. It seems more reasonable to abandon the idea of its being produced by Shakespeare's company as a rival play to *The Mayor of Quinborough*, and to regard it as written by Beaumont and Fletcher before they went to the King's, and as having been rewritten by Rowley for the Lady Elizabeth's some time between 1616 and 1622.

### 50. *Love's Cure.*

This amusing and much underrated play affords one of the most difficult problems of all. One need only mention the varied views held regarding its authorship to make that fact quite plain. Fleay at first thought it the work of Fletcher, Middleton, and William Rowley,

but changed his opinion, apparently on the strength of the prologue, and declared it to be Beaumont and Fletcher's, rewritten by Massinger. Macaulay, in defiance of the external evidence, guessed the play to be Massinger's. Boyle, equally regardless of the evidence, first gave it to Massinger and another, and later included Fletcher, though, when he came to a division of the work, he left Fletcher out altogether. Bullen considered it Massinger and Middleton's. Thorndike accepts, and Gayley rejects, the theory of Beaumont's part-authorship. Cruickshank says there is "nothing like Massinger, except a few touches in I. 1, 3"; but elsewhere he declares that Massinger had "nothing to do with" it. He seems to think it may be by Fletcher and Middleton. Stiefel holds it to be Fletcher's latest work. Rosenbach argues that it shows more knowledge of Spanish than any other "Beaumont and Fletcher" play, and that the verse is quite unlike Fletcher's and like Massinger's, while the characters are the latter's. Chelli takes it to be a play of Beaumont's, revised by Massinger. Sykes awards it to Massinger, Webster, and Dekker. Wells, who calls it "a very knotty problem," writes: "I am sure that Fletcher is in the play, but not quite convinced of Beaumont's presence. A more reasonable arrangement" than Sykes' "seems to me to be a partnership between Fletcher, Massinger, and Field; IV seems to be entirely Massinger's; therefore I conclude that he was either one of the original authors or an original partner with Fletcher in an alteration of a still older play (*circa* 1604), which *might* have been by Dekker and Webster." In a later letter, however, he speaks of it as by Massinger and Field, with a "suspicion" of

Fletcher. Lawrence awards it to Beaumont, dating it 1606, with a later Massinger revision.

From all this welter of uncertain opinion, almost as variable as it can well be, let us turn to consider the external evidence and the probabilities, as they seem from a consideration of facts. Those who would deny the presence of either Beaumont or Fletcher have to get over, first, its inclusion in the two Beaumont and Fletcher folios; secondly, its occurrence among a Fletcherian group in the list of the King's men's plays in 1641; thirdly, the authority of the prologue at a revival, which distinctly attributes the authorship to Beaumont and Fletcher. I do not add to these the ascription of the play to our two authors in Archer's catalogue, for that is of little value; but the third of the evidences I have listed is a very strong one: I cannot fancy the actors deliberately making a false statement regarding the authorship of a play when they knew there would probably be many among their audience capable of correcting them. The utmost length to which they could be expected to go would be to add the name of Beaumont to that of Fletcher or that of Fletcher to Beaumont's. I therefore consider that we may feel tolerably certain that either Beaumont or Fletcher or both had a hand in this play. There is also an epilogue which speaks of the play as the work of a single writer. Fleay thinks the reference is to "the third hand, who refashioned the piece for reproduction"; but to me it seems to be the original one, indicating that the play was in the first place by either Beaumont or Fletcher, but not by both. Regarding the epilogue as Fleay did, the play should be an alteration of a work

originally by Beaumont and Fletcher; regarding it as I do, the drama's first form should have been the work of one of them alone.

The question of authorship is tangled up with that of date. We know that *Love's Cure* belonged to the King's men in 1641; but we may also be tolerably sure, by reason of the absence of an actors' list, that it was not originally written for that company. That fact alone would suffice to date it prior to 1618, despite the allusion it contains to the Russian ambassador lying "lieger" during the great frost of 1622. Those who, because of such a reference, suppose the play to have been written not earlier than 1622 are guilty of the all-too-common error of failing to take into consideration the possibility—and indeed probability—of interpolation. Another argument for such a date was put forward by Nicholson, and adopted by Macaulay. This was the nonsensical idea that the fact of the scene being laid in Spain was "almost enough to justify the conclusion that it was as late as 1621."

A much more serious argument for a late date is that advanced by Stiefel, who asserts that it must be the very latest play of Fletcher's, since it is based on a drama by Guillen de Castro, licensed for printing in Spain February 7, 1624-5, and published some three months later. That left only three months for Fletcher to get it and to adapt it. That means, of course, that Beaumont is not available for part-authorship, and that Fletcher becomes extremely unlikely. As one who had been arguing for an early date for *Love's Cure*, I had to admit the important bearing of this discovery upon my views; but I held those views so strongly that even then

I was not prepared to abandon them. I failed to understand how, if it was a post-Fletcher play, it had found its way into the first folio, and how the prologue's definite attribution of it was to be accounted for. So, writing in "Modern Philology," January, 1911, I argued: "Is it not possible that Massinger incorporated in his version of the Spanish play some scenes out of an early play by Beaumont? I do not know the Spanish play, or how much of the English comedy is derived from it, and so this suggestion may be utterly opposed to the facts of the case; but I shall be surprised to learn that the Spanish original shows any sign of the humours of Lazarillo (a distinctly Beaumontesque character) or more than a little of the contents of Act III. If it do, I shall not be ashamed to confess myself mistaken." That my attitude was not without justification seems to be shown by the fact that I am now given to understand that Guillen de Castro's drama is not the source: the story is the same, but the treatment is very different.

Let us next consider the arguments for an early date. Fleay proposed 1608; myself, 1606; and Thorndike, the same or perhaps even a trifle earlier. Allusions to the famous Don Diego and to *The Honest Whore* "fit in with a very early date for the original," as Fleay says; but of much more importance is the reference to the fasting maid of Confalens in II. 1, if she is rightly to be identified with the "miraculous maid" mentioned there. "The Faste of a Maide of Confolens" was published in 1604; and I do not think it likely that the reference to it would date later than 1605. Moreover, as Thorndike has pointed out, "Grave Maurice" would not have been so described after 1609. Still more signifi-

cant is the fact that the various statements (in I. 1, 2, 3, and V. 3) as to the duration of Alvarez' exile are more precise even than he says, giving us definitely a date of 1605. This may be arrived at thus: Alvarez had undergone a sixteen years' pilgrimage before his arrival at Ostend, then being besieged by the Archduke Albert, and another four years passed before his return home. The siege lasted from June, 1601, to August, 1604; and at the latest Alvarez must have returned very soon after the termination of the siege. The four years may be taken then as stretching from 1601 to 1605, making the latter the date of the first version of the play. It may of course be that the passages in question are practically translations from the Spanish, in which case my whole argument goes by the board. It is also to be admitted that the opening scene, on which the argument is mainly based, is from the pen of Massinger, dating almost certainly from a time subsequent to Fletcher's death; but that means only that he rewrote the scene without altering the dating. The dating is, in fact, quite unusually consistent throughout, save that in an early portion of I. 1 Massinger is responsible for the statement that Alvarez' banishment dated from the time of the siege of Ostend. When he wrote that passage he apparently misunderstood the original writer's time-scheme, which he came afterwards to comprehend more thoroughly.

That the play is of two dates is tolerably plain. Part of II. 2 must have been written after 1622; the muteness of Stephano on his only appearance may be a result of revision; and the use of French in III. 2 (though the scene is laid in Spain) may point in the same direc-

tion. Moreover the two final speeches of the play seem to afford two several endings, the original play having probably concluded with the words "as some do nowadays." It may be noted, too, that in IV. 3 we have the English "Assistant," and in V. 3 the Spanish "Assistente." In I. 2 Bobadilla is addressed as "Zancho," as also in III. 4, IV. 3, and V. 3, while in II. 2 he is addressed once as "Zancho," twice as "Bobadilla," once as "Spindle," and once as "Bob." He speaks of himself as "Bobadilla Spindola Zancho" (as in V. 3), and is referred to once as "Zancho Bobadilla," and once as "Zancho." The significance of this is not clear; but without it there is plenty of evidence of double dating, implying revision. Another token of the play's having been rewritten is afforded by its double title. The plays to which double titles are given in either folio are *The Woman's Prize*, *Rollo*, *Love's Cure*, *Philaster*, *The Night-walker*, and *The Nice Valour;* and there is not one of these that is to be considered as wholly of one date. Others boasting double titles are *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *Monsieur Thomas*, the lost *Devil of Dowgate*, *The Lover's Progress*, *Henry VIII*, *A Very Woman*, *The Birth of Merlin*, and *Double Falsehood;* and, of these, omitting *The Devil of Dowgate* (of which we know nothing), the only one that seems to be an exception to the rule that an alternative title implies revision is *The Humorous Lieutenant*. "Demetrius and Enanthe" may have been the author's name for this play, which may have received the popular sobriquet of "The Humorous Lieutenant," as Cooke's *City Gallant* became known as "Green's Tu Quoque"; but yet another name for it was "The Noble Enemies." It is

to be noted that *Love's Cure* appears in the King's men's list of 1641 only under the name of "The Martial Maid," which is the title it was given in the Stationers' Register entry of September 4, 1646. In fact, the arguments for double dating seem to me incontrovertible, though Chambers pronounces those advanced by Fleay and Thorndike for an early date "trivial." For any one who looks at the facts without prejudice, there can, I think, be no question of the original earliness of *Love's Cure*.

My former view was that the play had been first written by Beaumont, that it contained an insignificant fragment of Fletcher, and that it had been subjected to a late rewriting by Massinger. It is in accord with the uncertainty that almost every one feels about it that I have been very wavering in my impression and have never been able to arrive at any conclusion that really satisfied me. The one man of whose presence, on internal evidence, I feel quite certain is Massinger. That he was a late rewriter I feel no doubt: that is shown, I think, in II. 2 and V. 3. For the non-Massingerian portions I have hesitated between Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and another, and have noticed slight indications of the presence of Middleton, Dekker, Field, Webster, and Shirley, while in II. 2 and III. 4 I am now and then reminded of that scene in *Stukeley* which I once claimed for Fletcher. This is not the only play in which slight hints of this sort occur—sufficient to make me wonder whether I am justified in abandoning my original idea in regard to that play. But, besides the presence of Massinger in *Love's Cure*, there is another thing I feel tolerably sure of: that is, the presence of some one other

than any of the playwrights I have named. The opening portion of V. 3 seems to me to come from the workshop of none of them.

Of the eight men I have mentioned as possible participants, Middleton may be summarily dismissed: there are one or two odd lines in III. 3 that raise the thought of him, as does the mention of the indefinite term of seven years in both III. 4 and V. 3. Shirley suggested himself to me mainly[1] by reason of a strange expression used in the final scene, where Genevora demands "Your hearing for six words," and Eugenia, a few lines further on, employs precisely the same phrase; but, though in Shirley's *Royal Master,* III. 3, we have "Tell me in six words of sense," and, in his *Duke's Mistress,* "Convince thy madness in six words," the verse here has but little resemblance to his style. In Massinger's *Parliament of Love,* II. 1, we have

> "I'll not venture
> To change six words with her";

but, though Massinger's hand is evident immediately afterwards, I do not think the two uses of the expression in *Love's Cure* are due to him. If my thoughts have turned to Field, it is because of slight connections with *The Faithful Friends;* and we must not overlook the many resemblances of his style to Beaumont's; but, nevertheless, I do not fancy we have to do with Field here.

That leaves us with five writers to be considered;

[1] The line

> "Kings nor authority can master Fate" (V. 3)

also of course recalls him.

and I may reduce the number to four by omitting Fletcher. I do so reluctantly; but the likenesses to his work are few in number and not very convincing. In my "E. S." article I credited him with that portion of III. 4 succeeding Alvarez' entry,[2] declaring that it was difficult to think of such a line as

"The devil's in her o' the other side sure!"

as coming from any one but Fletcher. That is true; but it is insufficient for the erection of a theory of Fletcher's participation.

Regarding Webster and Dekker I must give very careful consideration to an unpublished article on the play by Mr. Dugdale Sykes, with which that indefatigable investigator has been good enough to furnish me. This gives I to Massinger; II, to Webster and Dekker; III. 1-4, to Webster; III. 5, to Dekker; IV and V. 1-2, to Massinger and Webster; and V. 3, to Webster. "This represents the substantial authorship of the different parts of the play," Mr. Sykes explains; "but does not exclude occasional touches by one or other of the colleagues in a scene substantially the work of his partner or partners; *e.g.*, there is a slight trace of Massinger in II. 2, and of Dekker in V. 3." Mr. Sykes gives as "the more obvious marks" of Webster: (1) Clara's loss of the thread of her thoughts in II. 2, which is paralleled in *The Devil's Law-case*, I. 2; (2) a borrowing from "Arcadia" in III. 3, such borrowings be-

[2] The rest of the play I divided as follows:
B—II. 1, 2a, c, III. 1, 3 (with perhaps traces of Fl in the latter part), 4a, 5, V. 3 (altered by M)
M—I. 1, 2b, 3, IV, V. 1, 2
B and M—I. 2a, II. 2b (from Alvarez' entry to his exit), III. 2

ing frequent with Webster; (3) in the same scene, the use of "pistol" as a verb, as in *The White Devil*, III. 2; (4) the Websterian use of "right" in the final scene; (5) the use, in the same scene, as a simile, of "a dog with a bottle at's tail," as in *The White Devil*, IV. 4; (6) the resemblance between the sentencing of the wrongdoers in the final scene and the winding-up of *The Devil's Law-case*. I have named the most significant of a dozen reasons advanced by Mr. Sykes; and I must confess that not even the strongest of them seems to me sufficient to outweigh the fact that the style is nowhere Webster's.

For Dekker it seems to me that Mr. Sykes makes out a better case, but scarcely a convincing one. He finds in II. 1, not without reason, "the solemn hortatory style of Dekker's prose tracts." He points out that "the parenthetical gloss in 'gird thy bear's skin (*viz.*, thy rug-gown) to thy loins' may be illustrated from almost any work of Dekker's; but, though it is common enough in Dekker, there is but one instance of it here, and the habit is not so rare that much importance is to be attached to it. There are "puns and metaphors" dealing with "the gentle craft," in accordance with the habit of Dekker; but I doubt if the habit was peculiar to him, and it seems to me that the introduction of a cobbler and the use made of him made the puns almost inevitable. In III. 5 we have one of Dekker's favorite allusions to water-spaniels and ducks. Now, these are, as I have said, much stronger arguments than those advanced in the case of Webster; nor do I find the style so definitely opposed to Dekker's participation as it is to Webster's; yet, though, after reading Mr. Sykes' paper, I

went to a reperusal of *Love's Cure* predisposed to the acceptance of that part of his theory, I did not find that the work impressed me as Dekker's. The manner of III. 5 does not seem to me his, and the railing in II. 1 is much more like Webster than Dekker. Mr. Sykes thinks the knowledge of Spanish shown points to Dekker; and he remarks that in *Match me in London* he has a Lazarillo and a Pacheco, as here—to which I may reply that *The Woman-hater*, in which Beaumont was concerned, has a Lucio and a Lazarillo, as here, and that moreover the one Lazarillo, like the other, is starving. If from such a circumstance any inference of Dekker's connection with this play is to be drawn, surely a stronger one is to be drawn for Beaumont's connection with it, especially as there is in his case, as there is not in Dekker's, the support of external evidence.

We are left then with two yet to consider—the two who, to my thinking, have the strongest claims. Much of the play is in the manner of Jonson; and the problem has, to me, resolved itself into this: Is the hand that of Jonson himself? or is it that of Beaumont, writing under the influence of Jonson, as he did in his younger days? or, which is less likely than either of the other alternatives, have we both? As I have previously remarked, I never take kindly to theories of imitation; but in one or two specific cases—as, for example, in the case of the relation of Beaumont to Jonson, and in that of Field to Beaumont—it is not to be overlooked; but the imitation of Jonson by Beaumont was never so close as was that of himself by Field; and parts of this play seem to me so markedly in the Jonsonian manner that I feel I must accord them to Jonson himself. But, while such a

scene as III. 1 appears to me to bear clearly the stamp of Jonson, I cannot see him as the author of the opening portion of III. 4, which I believe to be Beaumont's. My division of the play, put forward without undue confidence, is:

B—II. 1, 2e, III. 3 (?), 4a (to Alvarez' entry), 5, V. 3c
J—II. 2a, c, III. 1, 2
M—I, II. 2b (four speeches following Alvarez' entry), d (three speeches following Alvarez' exit), IV. 1-V. 2, 3b (from Bobadilla's entry above to Eugenia's entry below)
4th author—V. 3a, d (last speech)
B and M—III. 4b (?)

This division is made solely on style; but, when I come to consider dates, I see no reason to alter it. On my interpretation, the allusion to the Russian ambassador in II. 2 comes from Jonson, whose work must therefore have been revisory, and almost certainly of the year 1622, since the reference is to "the last great frost"; and, as Massinger is seen interpolating in the same scene, the latter's work must have been done for a later revival. The reference to the "miraculous maid" comes from Beaumont. The allusion to "Grave Maurice" is Massinger's; but I cannot regard his work as so early as that would imply: he may have adopted the title from the original work on which he built. There is, by the way, a line in III. 1 that may afford a date-indication, though I am not aware what it is:

> "A fertile island of my own,
> Which I will offer, like an Indian queen."

We may note the use of "party" and "parties," as in *Wit at several Weapons*. We have, too, Fletcher's

objective "ye" in II. 2, 4, III. 4, and V. 3. A touch of Beaumont's burlesque (Sykes considers it Massinger's) is to be seen in II. 2. Massinger's interpolatory work is seen in II. 2. He has caused Bobadilla to reënter twice. On the first occasion we not only have his characteristic "We wash an Ethiop," but also

> "I will rectify
> And redeem either's proper inclination,
> Or bray 'em in a mortar and new-mould 'em,"

which he has in essence repeated in IV. 3:

> "I will beat thee dead,
> Then bray thee in a mortar and new-mold thee,
> But I will alter thee";

while III. 4 has a similar passage, which is presumably his:

> "I will break thee bone by bone and bake thee, ere I will ha' such a wooden son to inherit."

It is, however, against the attribution of these passages to Massinger that we have in II. 1 of *The False One* (a Fletcher scene)

> "I'll beat him and his agents in a mortar
> Into one man; and that one man I'll bake then."

That certainly points to the presence of Fletcher in this play; but, in the absence of stylistic signs of him, I prefer to consider it as a Fletcherian sentiment which had taken the fancy of Massinger; but I may be entirely wrong, and the statement in the prologue as to Fletcher's participation renders it probable that I am. It does not do to be too confident about so difficult a play as this.

As I remarked in "E. S.," Bobadilla's "Your lady-

ship, not acquainted with my wisdom" (V. 2) is almost sufficient in itself to brand him as one of Massinger's clowns, for they generally make a ridiculous affectation of wisdom.

Macaulay awarded Massinger "probably" I, IV, and V. 1-2, and held that no scene could be attributed to Fletcher. In this allotment to Massinger, Macaulay was following Boyle, who made the extraordinary observation, "Whoever was the second author, he took the lead in the play, altering scenes that Massinger had written." To this second author, who, according to his latest verdict, was not Fletcher, he credited all the rest of the play, though he declared that there were traces of two hands in the prose of II. Whether he meant the colleague of the "second author" in this scene to be Massinger or not is not quite clear. If not, he had three authors, not merely two. Alden gave Beaumont II. 1 and 2 and III. 5, and, at least in part, III. 3 and V. 3. This comes very close to my Beaumont allotment. Wells, except for his "suspicion of Fletcher," divides the play: Massinger, I. 1, 3, IV, V. 1-2; Field, I. 2, II, III, V. 3.

The epilogue, which speaks of a single author, I believe to be from the pen of Beaumont. It shows his characteristic contempt for the audience. Listen to it:

> "Our author fears there are some rebel hearts,
> Whose dulness doth oppose Love's piercing darts.
> Such will be apt to say there wanted wit,
> The language low, very few scenes are writ
> With spirit and life. Such odd things as these
> He cares not for, nor ever means to please;
> For, if yourselves, a mistress, or Love's friends
> Are lik'd with this smooth play, he hath his ends."

To regard that, as so many do, as an epilogue penned by a reviser of the play seems to me absurd: the voice is the voice of the original author, proud of his accomplishment; nor is it to be supposed that a company's "poet," engaged in dishing up the play anew, would be likely to go out of his way to defy the audience. If he did, it would be in accordance with Massinger's customary way, saying that the play was by an author reputed good, protesting his own modesty, but declaring that the work was not lightly to be decried. Both from its style and from its tone, I have no doubt whatever that this epilogue was Beaumont's. It reminds us that Jonson told Drummond that Beaumont "loved too much himself and his own verses."

Even if the evidence for an early date were not so strong as it is, I should be unable to understand any scholar's assuming a late date. Massinger's revisory work cannot have been done later than the 'thirties; and it is not likely that a prologue spoken then (and it bears every mark of being Massinger's) would speak of a play as being partly Beaumont's if it was first produced in the 'twenties. That it is not late work of Fletcher's is evident: if it had been, his contribution would hardly have been utterly removed. The epilogue shows there was but one author originally; and I believe that that author was Beaumont. If so, and if Lazarillo was his creation, it must have preceded *The Woman-hater*, for it is easier to suppose the ravenous glutton of this play a first sketch of the great mock-heroic character of *The Woman-hater* than to regard him as a weak copy. Having created this character, Beaumont may have seen how admirably it lent itself to

purposes of burlesque. That, having first designed his burlesque hero, he should have imitated him under the same name, with an elimination of most of the mock-heroic element, is to me inconceivable. The roguery of the constable is also reminiscent of the conduct of the intelligencers in *The Woman-hater*.

Attention may also be directed to the extraordinary frequency with which the titles "sir" and "signor" are used in the opening part of III. 2. Out of 38 speeches, only 16 are without one or other word, "sir" appearing 18 times, and "signor" 6 times. There is only one speech in which both modes of address occur. The circumstance may or may not be of importance; but assuredly it is worthy of notice at least, for one never knows when such apparent trivialities may not prove to have some bearing on questions of authorship. Yet another triviality that must not be passed by without remark is the fondness shown for the use of the word "now." In IV. 2 we have it twice in a couple of lines:

> "You know the voice, and now crouch like a cur
> Ta'en worrying sheep. I now could have you gelded."

Mr. Baldwin Maxwell, in "Philological Quarterly," vol. 5, no. 4, urges that the thin and hungry knave parts in the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays were written for John Shanck. This actor was with the Palsgrave's men in January, 1612-3, and with King's on March 27, 1619. As he was not with the Palsgrave's when they leased the Fortune on October 31, 1618, it seems likely that he joined the King's some time between 1612 and the end of October 1618. He was with the King's till 1631, and died January, 1635-6. He was always an actor of small

parts, and, though in the company's patent of 1619, is not named in the cast of any play till 1622, a sufficient indication that his parts were unimportant. Mr. Maxwell shows reason for thinking that his connection with the King's men began prior to the production of *The Queen of Corinth*, which I date early in 1616. I am quite prepared to accept the suggestion that he played in *The Lover's Progress*, *The Queen of Corinth*, and *Women Pleased*, as well as in *The Prophetess;* but I cannot agree to the probability of his having played the part of Judas in *Bonduca*, which I have shown reason to date 1611. If he acted Lazarillo in *Love's Cure*, my idea of Beaumont's authorship of II. 1 in the version for Paul's prior to 1605-6 must go by the board, as also my theory of Jonson's participation in II. 2 in the version written for Elizabeth's in 1622, unless I am to attribute the allusion to Lazarillo's thinness to Massinger for the latest version. I do not, however, see any good reason to alter my allotment. I do not agree with Mr. Maxwell in thinking that the principal part in *Monsieur Thomas* was written for Taylor, or the part of the Soldier in *The Nice Valour* for Lowin; and I hold that, if the part of Aubrey in *The Bloody Brother* was designed for Lowin, it must have been for the very latest version.

To summarize, I regard *Love's Cure* as originally written by Beaumont for the Paul's boys not later than 1605, revised by Jonson and another in 1622 for the Lady Elizabeth's, and revised once again, this time by Massinger, when it came into the hands of the King's men, probably about the same time as *Love's Pilgrimage* and others. Herbert, apparently forgetting the inci-

dent of February, 1624-5, in connection with *The Honest Man's Fortune*, tells us that *The Loyal Subject* in November, 1633, was the first "ould play" sent him for perusal by the King's men. The revision of *Love's Cure* was then probably prior to that date, since he records no payment for it. I must point out in opposition to my ascription of revisory work to Jonson in 1622 that that was the time during which he did no original dramatic work; but I see no reason why he should not have turned an honest penny by revision of an old play if the work was offered to him.

### 51. *Love's Pilgrimage.*

This, like *Love's Cure*, is the subject of very widely differing views. Fleay regarded it as originally by Fletcher and Jonson, altered later by Shirley; but subsequently he changed his opinion, declaring that Fletcher wrote the first three acts, and another (probably Webster) the remaining two, Jonson altering the play in 1635 by transferring to it some matter from *The New Inn*. (In an earlier attempt Fleay had given Shirley IV and V, and Fletcher the rest.) Boyle divided it among the three authors named, giving I. 1 to Jonson; I. 2, II. 2-4, III, and IV. 2 to Fletcher; and the rest to Shirley. Bullen regarded it as almost entirely Fletcher's. Macaulay considered that Fletcher appeared most markedly in I. 2, II, III, but that the play had been altered in 1635, perhaps by Shirley. Cruickshank thinks it very characteristic work of Beaumont and Fletcher. Chelli denies the presence of Massinger. Wells once regarded it as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and perhaps Jonson, revised by Ford; but his latest

view cuts out Jonson, and does not name the reviser, so that he is apparently doubtful as to that writer's identity with Ford, or may even have abandoned altogether the idea of his participation in the play. My own original view was that it was by Beaumont and Fletcher, altered by Massinger and Jonson.[1]

It will be noticed that more than one investigator has named Shirley. This is the outcome of an erroneous assumption on the part of Malone and a misinterpretation by both Dyce and Fleay of what he said. Malone's statement is to the effect that Shirley revised "some of those pieces which were left imperfect" by Fletcher, giving as authority for his assertion Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, though the only proof he gives is a quotation of Herbert's entry relative to *The Night-walker*. Solely, so far as can be judged, on the strength of this one entry, he goes on to state, as if it were an ascertained fact, that Shirley, "finding *The New Inn* unsuccessful, took the liberty to borrow a scene from it, which he inserted in *Love's Pilgrimage*." For this assumption there is no warrant whatever: Herbert's entry regarding this play, as given by both Weber and Malone, names no authors, and merely states that he received from the King's men £1 "for the renewing of *Love's Pilgrimage*, the 16th of September, 1635."

[1] My division (allowing for the fact that I now make two scenes of my then V. 4) was:

Fl—I. 1b (final dialogue), 2, II. 2, 4, III
B—IV. 1b (from Marcantonio's exit to Governor's entry), V. 1a, 4b (from Sancho's entry), 5, 6b
B and Fl—II. 1
Fl and M—II. 3
B and M—IV. 1a, c, 2, 3, V. 1b, 2, 3, 4a, 6a (to Eugenia's entry)
J—I. 1a

Misled at first, as others had been, I searched the play diligently for signs of Shirley, but unavailingly. This disconcerted me, as I never like flying in the face of external evidence there is reason to believe trustworthy; but then it occurred to me that it could not be trustworthy, since at the time to which it refers Shirley was writing for the Cockpit company, and the King's men's poets were Massinger and D'avenant, while others who had been writing for them within the year or two preceding were Jonson, Richard Brome, Arthur Wilson, and Glapthorne. Any one of these might have been concerned in the work of revision, if there was revision; but Massinger is unquestionably the likeliest of all, since this sort of work seems to have been generally handed over to him.

*Love's Pilgrimage* was not licensed by Herbert, and therefore, in its original form, dates from prior to May, 1622. As it has no list of actors attached in the second folio, it was almost certainly written for another company than the King's, into whose hands it passed some time before September, 1635. In December, 1636, they acted it at Court. It figures in the King's men's list of 1641 as "Lovers' Pilgrimage." As it appears under this title also in the Stationers' Register entry of September 4, 1646, it was presumably at one time so named. The prologue (which seems to be Fletcher's) ascribes it to more than a single author, and should be the original one, since it speaks of the play as new.

The play is founded on one of the "Novelas Ejemplares," not allowed for publication in Spain till August, 1613. So far as Fletcher is concerned that seems to be too early a date for him, since, much as he used the

Spanish novelas, he does not appear ever to have used an untranslated work. (We must not forget in this connection, however, the relation of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* to "Don Quixote.") It has been suggested that this play is identical with the *Cardenio* of 1613; but that is quite out of the question. There would be more reason to attempt to identify it with Fletcher's *Wandering Lovers* of 1623, though that seems to me to be almost certainly an early version of *The Lover's Progress;* nor would its sole authorship coincide with the statement of the prologue to this play. The authors may have worked on the French translation of their source, which appeared in 1615; but nevertheless Lawrence dates the play 1614.

I consider the signs of Massinger too slight to have warranted my former judgment, and the lines most like him (in V. 1 and V. 6a) are not necessarily his. I therefore divide the play between Beaumont, Fletcher, and Jonson, my division being:

Fl—I. 1b, 2, II, III
B—IV, V
J—I. 1a (to "*Exeunt all except Diego*")

The latter part of I. 2 (from Pedro's entry) I have given to Fletcher mainly because the remainder of the scene is his. The latter part of V. 1, V. 3, and V. 6 are not particularly like Beaumont, but are not impossibly his, so that I see no need to drag in an unknown fourth author. That Beaumont is present I feel certain. If the date of the play be 1615, it may be held to be too late for him; but no one can say positively that he gave up playwriting on his marriage. Indeed, *The Scornful*

*Lady* offers proof to the contrary. The two following passages seem to me eloquent of him:

> "Alas! will he not leave
> This trying all?—Madam, I do beseech you,
> Let me but speak to him, you and these by,
> And I dare almost promise you to make him
> Shew himself truly sorrowful to you.
> Besides, a story I shall open to you,
> Not put in such good words, but in itself
> So full of chance, that you will easily
> Forgive my tediousness, and be well pleased
> With that so much afflicts me."
>
> (IV. 3.)

> "When I make jests of oaths again, or make
> My lust play with religion; when I leave
> To keep true joys for her, and yet within
> Myself true sorrow for my passed deeds;
> May I want grace when I would fain repent,
> And find a great and sudden punishment!"
>
> (IV. 3.)[2]

The tone and the characterization alike of the scenes I have allotted to Beaumont are his. Theodosia especially is a very Beaumontesque figure; but it is to be remembered that his imitator Field could also write in this vein. The attack on women in IV. 1 points to Field; but the verse-tests tell rather of Beaumont. The oaths throughout are Field's, but are not used with his frequency, though they are more frequent than in *The Queen of Corinth*. The fact, too, that II. 4 is, though Fletcherian in execution, Beaumontian in idea tends in the direction of admitting Beaumont's participation. It may be noted, moreover, that the experiences of Incubo in I. 1 in

[2] Four of eight verse-tests I have applied suit Beaumont; three suit Field.

being continually disappointed of his dinner are reminiscent of the experiences of Lazarillo in *The Woman-hater*. The character might indeed belong to Beaumont's gallery; and it may be that Jonson's work is only a rewriting of earlier work by Beaumont. The scrambled nature of the conclusion of the play may be due to abridgment.

There remains to be considered the very puzzling question of *The New Inn* contacts. Langbaine says that "a scene in Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage*" (the attribution may be noted) "was stollen from" *The New Inn*; but he is to be regarded as an authority in regard to neither the authorship nor the theft. Having an eye to the date of *The New Inn*, which was produced more than three years after Fletcher had "shuffled off this mortal coil," that writer is hardly to be branded, as Langbaine evidently desired to brand him, as the culprit. The few modern critics who have dealt with the subject have followed Langbaine's lead, considering that *The New Inn* was pillaged for the revival of *Love's Pilgrimage* in 1635. Dr. G. B. Tennant, in his edition of *The New Inn* treats myself as the only scholar who holds to the contrary; and he is right,[3] for, though Fleay, who dated *Love's Pilgrimage* 1612, considered that Jonson was the borrower, and that, in taking from the earlier play, he was merely reclaiming matter he had contributed to it, he later came round to my view that it was Fletcher's work that Jonson lifted, and later still accepted the orthodox view of the originality of

[3] So far as publication is concerned; but Mr. Charles Crawford writes me: "Ben Jonson's actual presence in *Love's Pilgrimage* is a certainty, for he has rewritten parts of I. 2 of it in his *New Inn*, III. 1."

*The New Inn*. Dr. Tennant thinks that the position of the scene in the forefront of *Love's Pilgrimage* "lends itself to the argument that it represents insertions to supply the pages most easily lost." There might be something in the argument if the part in question actually opened the play, but it does not; and there was no more likelihood of the pages containing the closing dialogue of I. 1 getting lost than of any other. Dr. Tennant's arguments seem to me very weak; and I find nothing in what he has advanced to cause me to modify my theory. He seems to think it an answer to my claim that the following seven lines are Fletcher's—

> "Every poor jade has his whole peck, and tumbles
> Up to his ears in clean straw; and every bottle
> Shews at the least a dozen; when the truth is, sir,
> There's no such matter, not a smell of provender,
> Not so much straw as would tie up a horse-tail,
> Nor anything i' th' rack but two old cobwebs
> And so much rotten hay as had been a hen's nest"—

to point out that the first three do not occur in *The New Inn*. What difference that can make I fail to perceive. If the whole passage be obviously Fletcher's, and four lines from it appear also in a play of Jonson's, the natural inference is that Jonson stole them. The one good point brought against the originality of the *Love's Pilgrimage* dialogue about the horses is that it leads nowhere. As against that, we have to note that in III. 1 of *The New Inn* the bits not also in *Love's Pilgrimage* are not Fletcher-like, as the rest is. Are we to suppose that the reviser of *Love's Pilgrimage* stole from *The New Inn* only so much of it as was in the manner of Fletcher? Is it not infinitely more reasonable to consider that the

borrowing was the other way, and that in *The New Inn* additions were made to what was taken?

I have not, however, explicitly stated the position. It is this: about a dozen lines in I. 1a are identical or almost identical with lines in II. 2 of Jonson's *New Inn*, acted by the King's men in January, 1629, and printed in 1631; while I. 1b is almost a duplicate of much of III. 1 of the same play, twenty-four out of seventy-four lines (omitting the first one and the last five) being absolutely identical with lines in the Jonson play, while only six are altogether peculiar to *Love's Pilgrimage*. If my apportionment be right, I. 1a is Jonson's, and I. 1b, Fletcher's. I do not pretend to be able to account satisfactorily for what happened; but my "E. S." suggestion seems to me not unreasonable, that Jonson commenced a revision of *Love's Pilgrimage* (probably about the time of Fletcher's death, and for another company than the King's), gave it up, and, when he commenced *The New Inn*, took a few of his own lines from the earlier play, and also lifted, with some alterations, the only piece of Fletcher's work he had left in the only scene he had meddled with. I do not fancy that any other explanation has been put forward that satisfies so many of the conditions.

### 52. *The Nice Valour.*

This play, though in the first folio, was one of the few not entered in the Stationers' Register till June 29, 1660. It has been suggested that it is probably identical with "The Bridegroom and the Madman" in the King's list of 1641; but it is to be noted that no one of the

four "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays accompanying it in the Stationers' Register figures in that list. It is further to be noted that, of the twenty-nine plays appearing both in the list of '41 and the Stationers' Register entry of '46, the names of all are the same, save that in the latter we have "The Knights of Malta," instead of "The Knight of Malta," and that only one of two alternative titles of *The Humorous Lieutenant* is given in the former. In both, *Love's Pilgrimage* is given as "Lovers' Pilgrimage," and *Love's Cure* as "The Martial Maid." Robinson and Moseley have obviously taken the names on the King's company's playhouse copies; and they are not at all likely to have made an exception in the case of *The Nice Valour* when it came into their hands later, especially in view of the fact that they printed it with the alternative title of "The Passionate Mad-man." As, moreover, the title "The Bridegroom and the Madman" would not be particularly suitable to this play, I gravely doubt the suggested identification. We have, indeed, to consider whether *The Nice Valour* was ever acted by the King's men, or whether it stands, with *Wit at several Weapons* and *Four Plays in One*, as a play which cannot be associated with any particular company.

Save for its entry in the Stationers' Register as Beaumont and Fletcher's, its similar listing by Archer, and its inclusion in the folios, there is no external evidence as to the authorship of *The Nice Valour*. The epilogue, which is obviously the original one, speaks of a single poet, and exhibits that proud independence of his audience which was characteristic of Beaumont. The prologue, a revival one, also speaks of "our poet," and

speaks of him in the past. It seems to refer to Fletcher,[1] and may be by Massinger. It was not necessarily written for a revival at which there was any rewriting; and, indeed, the play itself shows no sign of Massinger's handling. That there has, however, been revision is evident. In this connection, I do not know if it has ever been pointed out that *The Nice Valour* is the shortest of all the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays. It covers only some 17½ pages of Darley's edition, being about three-quarters the average length. The next shortest are *The Laws of Candy* (less than 19 pages) and *The Sea-voyage* (less than 20), while the longest are *The Loyal Subject* (over 30) and *The Humorous Lieutenant* (nearly 30). One may assume that there has been no abbreviation of the two last-named, but that they remain as originally written, while the other three have suffered much curtailment, unless we are to presume that they are mere first drafts, which for some reason or other never reached the intended final form. It tells, I think, in favor of the latter theory in the case of *The Nice Valour* that some of the leading characters are nameless. There are in several plays leading characters called by their trades or professions (*e.g.*, the hero of *The Humorous Lieutenant*); but the Daughter and Wooer of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Lady and Widow of *The Scornful Lady*, the Sullen Shepherd and Old Shepherd of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, the Father of *The Captain*, the elder of the two Daughters of *Bonduca*, the Citizen and his Wife of *The Knight of the*

[1] Compare the praise of his modesty with the reference to Fletcher's "innate modesty" in Lowin and Taylor's dedication to *The Wild-goose Chase*.

*Burning Pestle*, the Gentleman, Lady, Wife, and Love of *The Noble Gentleman*, the Mother of *The Coxcomb*, the Niece of *Wit at several Weapons*, the Lady and Mistress of *The Night-walker*, and in this play the Lady, Wife, Passionate Lord, Soldier, and first and second Brothers, besides the Lady disguised as Cupid, stand on a somewhat different footing. I do not assert it positively, but I firmly believe that every one of these plays dates back to days prior to the death of Beaumont. Later, Fletcher seems to have realized the necessity of naming all his principal characters. Let it be further noted that in four of the eleven plays so distinguished (*Wit at several Weapons*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Noble Gentleman*, and *The Nice Valour*) the actual heroine is unnamed. It is my belief that Beaumont was concerned in every one of these four plays, and that the two of them in which the namelessness is most marked (*The Nice Valour* and *The Noble Gentleman*) were given to the world after Fletcher's death (but in one case, and perhaps in both, not for the first time). It is to be noted that the namelessness in both is quite deliberate. Thus, in *The Nice Valour*, Shamont actually addresses his unnamed brother as "Soldier" (IV. 1), and the Duke, in V. 3, carefully avoids naming him, calling him only "the soldier" (his name seems from II. 1 to be "Merit," but in III. 2 Shamont also is spoken of under that title, and in both these scenes, as also in I. 1, Merit is personified). Note also in *The Scornful Lady* the care taken not to name the heroine: "In such a lady's house, I need not name her." It must, however, be pointed out that there is another dramatist who makes quite a feature of namelessness. This is Middleton,

whom I believe to be also concerned in this play. One may find half-a-dozen instances of this habit in *The Phœnix*, two in *Michaelmas Term*, two each in *A Trick, Women, beware Women*, and *The Widow*, six in *The Fair Quarrel*, three each in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (which I firmly believe to be his), *The Chaste Maid*, and *More Dissemblers*, and other examples in *The Old Law*, *Your Five Gallants*, *A Mad World*, and *No Wit, no Help like a Woman's*. Whether then the namelessness here is to be attributed to Beaumont or to Middleton may be subject for consideration.

I was speaking of signs of revision. This may or may not be one. There are many others. The scene is Genoa; but that it was originally France is evident from the names of the characters (with the exception of Galoshio, the clown, and Base, the jester), by the use of the word "monsieur" in the text, by the description in the *dramatis personæ* of Lapet as "the cowardly monsieur," by the mention in the text (II. 1) of the Duchess of Valois, and by the description of the country as "the kingdom." In the first act there are indications of an apparent intention to do something with the wife of Lapet; yet she never appears again. When Galoshio first appears in III. 1, he is introduced in no way, and we are left to surmise what position he fills. In III. 1 we are told that the Duke has given consent to the Lady's following the Passionate Lord as Cupid, while in the final scene he is entirely ignorant of it. Another sign of revision is that La Nove, described in the list of characters as "a courtier," asks another concerning Shamont, on the ground that that other is a courtier and will therefore "know all their insides," the inference

being that he himself is not a courtier. In V. 1 Galoshio is called "Clown" in the stage-direction for his entry, as nowhere else, except that in his first entry in III. 1 he is styled "Galoshio, the Clown," and that two of the speeches in V. 3 are attributed to "Clown." Why should not the unnamed "Cowardly Gallant" of IV be either Poltrot or Moulbazon? If so, why is he not named? Such a multiplication of unnecessary characters may also indicate either mixed authorship or revision. There is another reason why the play is not to be looked upon as of a single date: in V. 3 there is an allusion to "Fisher's Folly," published in 1624; yet the play was not licensed by Herbert, and must therefore date not later than May, 1622. Also the double title is an indication of revision. Even Macaulay admits that it "was perhaps originally much earlier" than 1624; but nevertheless Chambers does not include it among the plays that may possibly have been produced in the time of Shakespeare.

Lawrence supplies me with the following interesting note:—"IV. 1:

> '*Lapet.* I hope
> To save my hundred gentlemen a month by it,
> Which will be very good for the private house.'

Weber thinks this a reference to some playhouse; but he fails to see the significance of the use of the word 'house' in the singular. To begin with, this was doubtless a local allusion, as the play in all likelihood was a Blackfriars play. The question is, at what time after 1610 was the Blackfriars the sole private theatre? The Whitefriars closed December, 1614, and never re-

opened; Rosseter's Blackfriars patent is dated June 3, 1615, and the theatre was used late in 1615 or early in 1616; the Cockpit was opened *circa* March 1617. The safe date would be the spring of 1615." Is Mr. Lawrence quite correct in his facts? There was perhaps a gap in 1616-7 between the closing of Porter's Hall (Rosseter's Blackfriars) and the opening of the Cockpit, which might have been a time when there was only one private theater; Porter's Hall was probably not a private house (it is not so treated by Chambers); and, so far from Whitefriars never reopening after December, 1614, when the occupying company's lease expired, it was certainly in use as a theater as late as 1621; nor do I see why, even on his own assumptions, Mr. Lawrence should prefer the spring of 1615 to a later part of the year. Despite these flaws, the argument adduced is a very strong one; but there are two things against it: the first is, that, if my interpretation of facts be correct, the play was not originally written for the King's, as is shown by the absence of a list of actors' names in the second folio; the second is, that the play does not appear in the King's men's repertory of 1641. We are faced thus with contradictory conclusions: the verses quoted by Mr. Lawrence point directly to a performance by the King's men at the Blackfriars; while each of the two circumstances mentioned in opposition points to the conclusion that the play was not a King's play—the first, that it was not originally so; the second, that it was never so. Can they be reconciled? Let us see. The assumption that *The Nice Valour* was never a King's play is derived from its absence from the King's men's list of 1641; but, of the five plays entered as

Beaumont and Fletcher's in the Stationers' Register of June 29, 1660, two—*The False One* and *The Fair Maid*—are known to have been King's plays, though they did not appear in the list. May it not be assumed then, as we have seen reason to assume in the case of them, that *The Nice Valour* was omitted from that list merely by oversight? I should describe that as not a fair assumption to make were it not for the fact that that is precisely what seems to have happened in the case of the other two plays: why not then in its case also? Let us assume then that *The Nice Valour* was a King's play; we have still the other obstacle to overcome; but it has already lost much of its force. We may meet it in either of two ways: we may say that this play constitutes a solitary exception to the rule that plays originally produced by the King's company had actors' lists attached in the second folio, unless they were printed from quartos; or we may say that the production of 1615, if that be the actual date, was not the original one. It seems to me that it would be stupid to assume a solitary exception; and so I regard the second of these two interpretations of the facts before us as by far the more reasonable. It chimes in, indeed, very well with the view I put forward in "E. S.," that, originally written by Beaumont for either the Paul's boys or the Queen's Revels Children (probably the former, about 1606), *The Nice Valour* was remodeled about 1613 or 1614 for the Lady Elizabeth's company by Fletcher, who called it "The Passionate Madman" (see II. 1 and IV. 1), and passed subsequently to the King's men, for whom it was rewritten, probably in 1626, by Middleton, who laid the scene in Genoa. The only altera-

tion I need to make in that supposition, in order to meet Mr. Lawrence's argument, is to date the first revision 1615 instead of 1613 or 1614, and to make the transfer to the King's men take place prior to that revision instead of later.

Yet, though, as may be seen, I have tried to reconcile Mr. Lawrence's contention with the facts as I see them, I have ultimately to reject it, for I find one considerable objection to it. The play was obviously written for a boys' company—the singing characters show that. If the revised version had not also been for a boys' company, it seems natural to suppose that the singing would have been cut out. It would appear then as if we should seek for a time when the only private theater was occupied by a children's company (a necessity which would land us in a quagmire), or else that we are compelled to admit that, after all, the use of the words "the private house" does not mean "the only private house," but merely "this private house." And pointing in this direction is also the fact that most of the Middleton in the play does not seem of a late period, so that he may have been engaged in the first rewriting, when he was not a King's man, as well as in the final one. The argument I have advanced would, however, apply equally to the second revision, which must have been soon after 1624, when there was no children's company in existence.

The question is, indeed, a very difficult one; and it may be that Mr. Lawrence is right. I go no further than to say that it seems to me that the chances are slightly against him in view of the facts that (1) the play was originally for a children's company; (2) it

cannot be definitely said that it was ever in the hands of King's, wherefore we are scarcely warranted in assuming that it was transferred to or purchased by that company; (3) though Middleton was writing for King's in 1624 (and the allusion in *The Nice Valour* to "Fisher's Folly" should assuredly mean a date of about 1624-5), it is hardly likely that he would at that time (unless Fletcher had actually retired from dramatic work) have been asked to revise a Fletcher (or even a Beaumont) play: the natural man to employ for the purpose would have been Fletcher himself; wherefore, if Middleton was the reviser, his work may be assumed to have been done for the Cockpit.

There is another matter to consider which has a bearing on this question of date: it is to this play that in both folios is appended the famous letter of Beaumont to Ben Jonson. In dealing with *The Noble Gentleman* I gave reasons for believing that that play and this were the two referred to in the rubric. That would probably give us a date of about 1606 or 1607 for this play—indeed, as it seems to have been written in its first form by Beaumont alone,[2] the former is the more acceptable, the company being probably Paul's boys.

[2] My division of the play in "E. S." was:

B—III. 3b, IV. 1b (ten speeches preceding the Duke's exit)

B and Fl—I. 1a (perhaps revised by Md), c (seventeen speeches preceding Lady's entry), III. 2a

B and Md—I. 1d, III. 3a (to Cupid's exit), V. 1, 3a

B, Fl, and Md—III. 1, 2c (twelve speeches)

Fl—I. 1b (from Duke's exit), III. 2b (speeches 17-41 inclusive), d, IV. 1c

Fl and Md—II. 1a (the songs being Fl's.), IV. 1a

Md—II. 1b (after second song), V. 2, 3b (from Shamont's first entry)

There is in it youthful imitation (such as might be expected) of the admired Jonson, and the epilogue, which may be compared with the one to *Love's Cure*, by the same author (*me judice*), shows the same contempt for public opinion as is shown in the writer's verses on *Volpone* and *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

The opinions of investigators have been as varied as was to be expected in the circumstances. Dyce suspected that, after Fletcher's death, "another playwright either altered it or completed it." Fleay regarded the play as written in 1613 by Fletcher and another, and altered about 1626 by some other writer, possibly Middleton. Boyle thought it Fletcher's, altered by Rowley after the author's death. Bullen considered much of the play strongly suggestive of Middleton, but the songs Fletcher's. Macaulay was of opinion that it was by Fletcher and another (perhaps Rowley), but that Fletcher's part was much altered. Chelli allots it to Fletcher and an unknown. Sykes declares Middleton to be certainly present, but doubts if it is wholly his. He adds, "It has several passages with valuable clues to his work in *Timon*." Wells writes: "Mostly now by Middleton, including, in my opinion, the songs; but whether the play was originally his is another matter." In a later communication he speaks of it without reserve as Middleton's. My own view is, as before, that it is to be divided between Beaumont, Fletcher, and Middleton, my allotment now being:

B—III. 2a (opening speech), 3b (first song),[8] (?) IV. b (from La Nove's third entry to Duke's exit)

Fl—II. b (first Shamont interlude)

Md—II. a, d (from Shamont's second exit), III. 1 (with perhaps some B and Fl from Galoshio's entry), 2b, d, 3a, c, V
B and Md—I. b, III. 2c (Duke's Sister's last speech)
B, Fl, and Md—I. a (to Duke's Sister's entry)
Fl and Md—II. c, III. 2e (from Galoshio's entry), IV. a, c

As it stands, the play is almost entirely Middleton's. His hand is clearly to be seen in these lines from II:

> "But why to me so punctual? my last thought
> Was most entirely fixed on his advancement.
> Why, I came now to put him in possession
> Of his fair fortunes, (what a misconceiver 'tis!)
> And, from a gentleman of our chamber merely,
> Make him vice-admiral. I was settled in 't."

Equally characteristic of him are the six speeches in I immediately following the Duke's Sister's entry and the last three speeches of the scene. In these parts of that act there is no foreign admixture. There is a fairly close resemblance in style between the fourth speech of III. 3 and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, which I am firmly convinced is Middleton's; and the same touch is perceptible in V. This again helps me to think that some of the Middleton may be early.

Fletcher is not so clearly to be distinguished, and his part is not great. The passage most characteristically his is that part of II from Shamont's first entry to his first exit. That is enough to convince me of his presence. The first three speeches of IV also seem to me to be entirely his, while what follows, to La Nove's second entry, is entirely Middleton's. From the later part of this scene, where Middleton's work is superimposed

[3] Malone states that in a common-place book he saw this song ascribed to Strode. That writer penned a reply to it; and so, I suspect, the mistake arose.

upon Fletcher's I quoted in "E. S." a passage which I took to be proof of Fletcher's presence. I was not justified. Very Fletcherian is

> "The choosing of these fellows now will puzzle me,
> Horribly puzzle me";

but what follows is even more markedly Middletonian:

> "And there's no judgment
> Goes true upon man's outside: there's the mischief!
> He must be touched and tried for gold or dross.
> There is no other way for 't; and that's dangerous too."

I find nothing definitely and strongly characteristic of Beaumont—nothing so markedly his as the epilogue. If it were not for the epilogue I might be doubtful of his presence. There is, however, a portion of the play that seems to be from neither Fletcher nor Middleton; and I think it may be regarded as early Beaumont.

### 53. *Wit at several Weapons.*

This lively comedy is accredited to Beaumont and Fletcher in Archer's catalogue. The only other evidences of its authorship are its inclusion in the folio, its entry in the Stationers' Register, June 29, 1660, as Beaumont and Fletcher's, and the statement of the epilogue "at the revising of this play," which hints that Fletcher wrote an act or two, and no more. Fleay considered it identical with the lost *Devil of Dowgate;* but that is not a happy guess. Were not *Monsieur Thomas* known to be identical with *Father's Own Son,* attention would certainly have been drawn to the fitness of that title to this play and to the fact that Wittypate is described in the list of characters as "his father's own son." We have no clue to the identity of the producing company; but

the fact that there is no actors' list in the second folio is against its having been originally staged by King's. We do not know that it ever belonged to that company, since it is not in the list of 1641, but neither is it in the Cockpit list of 1639, so that it may have been accidentally missed out of the former, like *The False One* and *The Fair Maid* and *Women Pleased*.

Lawrence dates the play 1614; but I do not know his reasons. Chambers considers Thorndike's arguments for 1609-10 or an earlier date "not proved." Perhaps not; but they are very sound, and are not to be brushed aside in this cavalier manner. Thorndike draws attention to "that memorable skirmish at Newport," which was fought July 22, 1600. "The details of the battle," says Thorndike, "and the account of Sebastian make it probable that they were written not very long after 1600." The way the Scotch forces are praised for their part in the Newport affair seems to me to indicate a period subsequent to James' accession; so that we shall be justified in accepting a date of 1603, or very little later, with a revision date of 1609-10 or later, to cover the allusion to the two exchanges, and the mention of an anti-masque, which must be later than 1608. There are, however, three references (IV. 1 and V. 1) to the New River, which was opened in 1613. These may perhaps, but not quite certainly, imply a date later than 1613. There is in III. 1 another date-indication that has not yet been utilized, because no one knows to what it refers:

> "Or fixed a naked rapier in a wall,
> Like him that earn'd his knighthood ere he had it,
> And then, refused, upon 't ran up to th' hilts."

I am then inclined to regard the play as originally written for Paul's boys in or about 1604, and as having been revised about 1613, perhaps for Lady Elizabeth's. I do not, however, see in the text much indication of revision save in Gregory's statement in III. 1 as to the girl's having pinned a scarf upon him, when she has not done so. It is possible, of course, that this may be deliberate lying on Gregory's part; but there would be no point in it. It was probably this play which was presented at Court some time between 1612-3 and 1621-2, of Buc's entry of which all that remains is "Wit at." (See Marcham's "King's Office of the Revels.")

Fleay considered the play to be by Middleton, Rowley, and Fletcher; Boyle, by Fletcher (responsible for I. 1-II. 1, III. 1, IV. 1) and an unknown; Ward, by Fletcher and Beaumont; and Macaulay, by the same two, though he afterwards changed his mind, and pronounced it to be probably by Middleton and Rowley, thus ignoring the external evidence in favor of Fletcher. Bullen says, "In reading it, we are strongly reminded of Middleton's town-comedies or of the mixed work of Middleton and Rowley." Though it contains "ye," says More, it shows no sign of Fletcher. Chelli gives it to Beaumont and Fletcher. There is no Beaumont in the play, according to Gayley; but Thorndike credits him with the Pompey parts (II. 2, 3, IV. 1, V. 1, 2). Wells gives it wholly to Middleton and Rowley, awarding the former I. 1, III, IV; and Rowley, the rest. I adhere to my "E. S." verdict[1] that Beaumont, Fletcher, Mid-

[1] My division was:
B—II. 3, IV. 1b (from Pompey's entry)
B and Md—I. 1b (from Cunningham's entry to Gregory's exit), d, III. 1c

dleton, and Rowley are all to be found, save that I am very doubtful if the fourth author is to be identified with Rowley. My distribution is:

B—I. 2 (?), II. 2b (?), 3, IV. 1d (last twenty speeches)
Fl—V. 1b (nine speeches beginning "*Mir.* One word first")
B and Md—II. 2a (to Pompey's first exit) (?), IV. 1c
Fl and Md—IV. 1b (from Gregory's exit to Pompey's entry)
Md—I. 1, II. 1, III, IV. 1a, 2, 3
B and 4th author—V. 2b (from Pompey's entry)
4th author—II. 4, V. 1a (?), c, 2a

I am, however, by no means confident of the correctness of this division, nor even of my choice of participants in it. It is possible that there may be but three authors and that it may be Field whose work I have divided between Beaumont and a fourth author. I am certain of Middleton, though it is early work, before he acquired the marked characteristics of his verse. The Fletcher, too, I feel tolerably certain of, small though his portion is. If this, from V. 1, be not his, it is at least remarkably like him:

"I know
I shall have hate for it, his hate extremely.
*Cunn.* Why, I thought you had not come so weakly armed.
Upon my life, the knight will love you for 't—
Exceedingly love you, for ever love you.
*Mir.* Ay, you'll persuade me so.
*Cunn.* Why, he's my friend,
And wishes me a fortune equal with him.
I know and dare speak it for him."

B and R—I. 2
Fl and Md—III. 1b (from Cunningham's first entry to Oldcraft's third)
Md—I. 1a, c (to Gregory's second entry), II. 1, III. 1a, IV. 1a, 2, 3
R—II. 2, 4, V. 1, 2 (with perhaps some B in the Pompey portion)

The only other place where I seem to see him is in part of a speech in IV. The line,

> "Engendering with an old pair of pan'd hose,"

has a counterpart in *Cupid's Revenge*, II. 3, where it is apparently Fletcher's; but in the very same speech we have the entirely Middletonian lines:

> "He's the nearest kin to a woman, of a thing
> Made without substance, that a man can find again,"

with which may be compared

> "How courteous he's to nothing! which indeed
> Is the next kin to woman"
>
> (*The Nice Valour*, I. 1.)

Professor de Perott has pointed out, in "Modern Language Notes," Volume 36, that two Russian words occur in I. 2, in which connection he remarks that Fletcher has one play (*The Loyal Subject*) with a Russian plot.

The fourth author may be Rowley; but I doubt it (Mr. Stork, I notice, who has particularly studied Rowley's work, also declares against him); nor do I feel at all certain of Beaumont. The Pompey portions are in his vein; but it does not follow that they are his, though the probabilities point in that direction. There is a good deal of punning, such as we do not find in Fletcher. The epilogue's suggestion of his responsibility for "an act or two" seems to have little warrant in the existing version of the play. For Middleton, I doubt if I can do better than quote the two brief passages I cited as examples of his style in "E. S.":

> "*Cunn.* She does abuse you still, then?
> *Greg.* A pox! damnably,

Every time worse than other.[2] Yet her uncle
Thinks the day holds a' Tuesday. Say it did, Sir,
She's so familiarly used to call me *rascal*
She'll quite forget to wed me by my own name;
And then that marriage cannot hold in law, you know."

(IV. 1.)

"*Niece.* Now, blessings still maintain this wit of thine,
And I've an excellent fortune coming in thee!

. . . . . .

Thou shalt be worthily welcome, take my faith for 't.
Next opportunity shall make us.

*Cunn.* The old gentlewoman has fool'd her revenge sweetly.

*Niece.* 'Las, 'tis her part! she knows her place so well yonder.
Always when women jump upon threescore,
Love shoves 'em from the chamber to the door."

(IV. 3.)

One may note regarding the reference in II. 1 to a material known as "philip and cheyney" that in *Anything for a Quiet Life* Middleton uses Philip and Cheney for the names of two of the characters—two who do not appear by name in the *dramatis personæ*. I may remark here that, though, on external evidence which is of but little value, that play is always given wholly to Middleton, portions of it (I, II. 1, III. 2, from Sweetball's exit, IV. 1, V. 1, from George's entry, and V. 2) seem to me clearly due to Webster. Much of the rest of the play may be accorded to Middleton, though nowhere particularly characteristic of him. Mr. Sykes was the first to prove the participation of Webster; but I had arrived at the same conclusion before I knew of his work on the play and prior to its publication.

[2] He uses a similar expression in *The Changeling*, II. 1.

Act V, scene 1, bears certain resemblances to that powerful playlet *A Yorkshire Tragedy*—not least of all in its doublings ("see, see him, see him deceived"; "shelter, shelter"; "nothing else, nothing else"). Act I, scene 2, it may be remarked, has much the same short, sharp style of sentence that meets us in *A Yorkshire Tragedy* —a play which I am not at all sure that we do not owe to Middleton.

In *Wit at several Weapons* Mirabel is a girl's name; in *The Wild-goose Chase* it is a man's. The early part of II. 2 is remarkable for a singular stage-direction, "Towards Cunningham," appearing twice. This may perhaps give a clue to the authorship, though I have not been able to connect this unusual instruction with any dramatic writer.

## *The Remaining Plays in which Beaumont was not Concerned.*

IN this final section I list six plays. Investigators generally would have three of them and would add *Love's Pilgrimage* and *The Nice Valour*. Some would also include the remaining three (*The Widow*, *The Fair Maid*, and *The Laws of Candy*), while others would exclude them not merely from this section, but altogether. *The Noble Gentleman* would be similarly treated. There are also scholars who would place *Love's Cure* and *Thierry and Theodoret* here.

### 54. *The Bloody Brother.*

This very fine play has been dated subsequently to 1623-4, because it is supposed to contain an imitation

of Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph;* but, as a matter of fact, it is Jonson who has imitated Fletcher. Also, as the play was not licensed by Herbert, it cannot be later than May, 1622, in its original form. Its alternative title ("Rollo") serves to show that there were two versions of it. It was entered for publication by John Crooke and Richard Sergier October 4, 1639, as by "J. B.," under the title of "Bloody Brother," and published the same year by Thomas Allott and John Crook (*sic*), under the same title, with an ascription to "B. J. F.," which may stand for "Beaumont, Jonson, Fletcher," as the "J. B." may stand for "Jonson, Beaumont." The next year another edition was published at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, under the title of "Rollo." This quarto ascribed the play to Fletcher, and asserted that it had been acted by the King's men. The drama was presented at Hampton Court January 24, 1636-7. Rymer treats it as Beaumont and Fletcher's. It is attributed to Fletcher by the cataloguers; and Hills speaks of the cook as a character of Fletcher's—a statement borne out by the internal evidence.

Lawrence dates the play about 1624, but, for the reason I have already given, that is too late. Chelli, who attributes it to Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and Daborne, is inclined to date it about 1613, which seems to be certainly too early. (Obviously he identifies it with the play "of Mr Fletcher and ours.") Gayley declares it to have been written after Beaumont's death, and that "Massinger wrote as much of it as Fletcher," and "probably other hands contributed as much as either." Part of it must date not earlier than 1619, for Mr. R. Garnett ("Modern Philology," Volume 2)

# THE BLOODY BROTHER.

## A Tragedy.

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By *B. J. F.*

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*LONDON,*
Printed by *R. Bishop*, for *Thomas Allott*, and *John Crook*,
and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe
of the Greyhound 1639.

*Facsimile of title-page of the first quarto of "The Bloody Brother."*

has shown the indebtedness of IV. 2 to the Latin play, *Querolus*, printed in that year. He declares that the knowledge of astrology there displayed can only be Jonson's; and he is not the only one to have that opinion. Dyce recognized the presence of Fletcher and a second writer, and thought that the latter, probably William Rowley, completed the play for the theater after Fletcher's death. Ward is not sure that there is not a third, as well as a second, writer. Fleay gave the drama to Fletcher, Massinger, Jonson, and another; Bullen thought it likely that, originally by Fletcher and Jonson, it was revised by Massinger for the Court production in 1636-7; Boyle assigned it to Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and another, probably Daborne; and Macaulay divided it between Fletcher, Jonson, Massinger, and Field. Fleay later gave the play to Fletcher, Massinger, and Cartwright, because the Oxford quarto had it divided into scenes in the French way, the system followed by Cartwright; and Boyle also changed his mind, being inclined to substitute Wilkins for "probably Daborne" as the author of IV. 1. Yet later he returned to his original view. Charles Crawford adduced some striking parallels to prove that Jonson was concerned in II. 2 and IV. 1. Chambers speaks of Jonson as having a share in the play; but whether he is taking some one else's word for it or departing from his usual custom by having an opinion of his own on a question of authorship is not clear. Schelling holds that Fletcher is present, but does not go further than that. Stork assigns it to Fletcher and another, and thinks that IV. 2 may perhaps be Jonson's. Cruickshank sees three hands, Massinger being present in I. 1. Sykes gives his opinion thus: "I should

be content, I think, with four authors in this play, but certainly not less than four. Jonson I would admit; but I doubt Middleton; quite sure only of Fletcher and Massinger." He denies any participation by Field. Wells regards it as an alteration by Fletcher and Massinger of an earlier play by Chapman "and possibly Jonson." My own view, as given in "E. S.,"[1] was that the play was originally by some sixteenth century dramatist, that it was rewritten, either in 1614 or 1615 for the Lady Elizabeth's or in 1616 for the King's, by Fletcher, Jonson, and Middleton, and that it was revised again in 1636, for the King's, by Massinger. I vary from that in my present allotment by dropping Middleton.

My division now is:

Unknown author—III. 1a, c, IV. 3
Fl—II, III. 1b (from "*Edith.* Oh, stay there, duke" to Ham's entry), (?) d (final dialogue), 2, V. 1b, 2
J—IV. 1, 2
M—I, V. 1a (to Ham's exit)

The alteration from my previous assignment is not very material. I am not at all sure that the portion of III. 1a between Rollo's first entry and Gisbert's entry is by the same author as the rest of it; but it shows no sign of being by any of the other three, and so may be allotted to the author of the part in which it is embedded. There

[1] My division was:
Original writer—III. 1a (with some Md after Rollo's first entry), c, IV. 3
Fl—II, III. 1b (from "*Edith.* Oh, stay there, duke" to Ham's entry), 2, V. 1b, 2
Md—III. 1d (final dialogue), IV. 1a, c (last three speeches)
J—IV. 1b (twenty-eight lines), 2
M—I, V. 1a (to Ham's exit)

are a few lines reminiscent of Middleton; but not enough to warrant a recognition of his presence.

This play need cause no trouble concerning I, II, III. 2, IV. 2, or V. 2, or even V. 1, despite the last eight lines, which are mostly rhyming, as Fletcher's verse so seldom is. The really bothersome scenes are III. 1 and IV. 1. The most difficult problem of the play has to do with the unknown author: was there an early writer, of whom traces are left here and there? or was the fourth writer one who now and then lapsed into the antique? The early-style stuff is found only in III. 1 after Gisbert's entry and prior to the closing duologue. These lines are ones that would be quite at home in a late sixteenth-century play:

> "Or for the proud refusal lose your head";
>
> "Far fly such rigor your amendful hand";
>
> "He threatens me!—Villains, tear him piecemeal hence";
>
> "And cast his carcase out to dogs and fowls";
>
> "And here the wounds he gave your sovereign lord."

It is to be noted that the word "amendful" occurs also in a very Middletonian line; but the verses I have quoted might have stepped out of a play of the time of Marlowe or Greene. If they are not remnants of an early play, they are the product of an actor-dramatist accustomed to mouth such lines. I am making the latter assumption; but I am not sure that it would not be more reasonable to treat the work I have assigned to the fourth author as in part the work of an early (sixteenth-century) writer, and partly of another author, who wrote very much later. I cannot feel at all certain when the work was done or what relation the writers had to

one another. Fletcher and the unknown do not seem to have written together; and probably Massinger's work was much later, presumably for the production of 1636-7.

While Fletcher and Massinger are both seen to unusual advantage, Jonson's part is not written in his best style, perhaps because it may have been mere hackwork. One may note that, in borrowing from both this play and *Love's Pilgrimage*, Jonson did not confine himself only to his own matter, but lifted Fletcher's as well. The Fiske of IV. 1, 2 is mentioned in the same author's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616). So is Norbret. Fleay thought Ruser and Savoy were additions of 1636. The first stanza of the song in V. 2 occurs with slight variations in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, which dates 1603-4, and both stanzas are in the spurious 1640 edition of his poems. Bullen suggested that Shakespeare might have been responsible for the first, and Fletcher for the second; but perhaps Fletcher is responsible for neither. Certainly the first cannot be his. Boswell urged the likelihood of the song being by neither of the two dramatists; and that possibility is not to be overlooked.

There are a few signs of alteration, of which two may be mentioned. In III. 1, Matilda says "He flatter thus?" when in point of fact the person to whom she alludes has not been guilty of flattery. Either his speech has been altered or something has been omitted. Note again how important a character Grandpree is in Act I, yet he never appears again. Was he cut out from the other acts? or was he a creation of Massinger's for his revision? Probably the former, since Massinger was not likely to be so faulty in his art as to introduce a new important

character for the first act only; and we seem to have some confirmation of this view in the fact that in the same act Duprete, who does not appear subsequently, remains mute. We may assume that his part also suffered in revision, indeed to its practical extinction.

Fleay allots Fletcher II, III, and V. 2, and recognizes Massinger's hand in I. Boyle gives I, V. 1a (to "*Exit Ham.*") to Massinger; to Fletcher II, III. 1 (from "*Edith, coming forward*" to "*Enter the Citizens*"), 2, IV. 2, V. 1b, 2; to Field, the rest of III. 1 and IV. 3; and to Daborne, IV. 1. Macaulay gives Massinger I, V. 1; Fletcher, II. 3, part of III. 1, III. 2, V. 2; Jonson, II. 1, 2, IV. 1, 2; Field, III. 1 (except the scene of Rollo and Edith), IV. 3. Dr. C. W. Stork, in his edition of two of Rowley's plays, credits Fletcher with I, II, III, IV. 1, 3, and "nearly all" V. He thinks IV. 2 "perhaps Jonson's," and declares that "there is a good deal of patching throughout the last three acts, and some couplets seem to have been added later." He makes no surmise as to the identity of the reviser. Crawford accords to Jonson I. 1, II. 2, III. 1, IV. 1-3, and V. 1. One may note in II. 1, II. 3, III. 1, IV. 1, IV. 3, and V. 2 instances of the naming of an individual with a possessive personal pronoun, to which Wells attached importance in his work on *Julius Cæsar*. It seems to be peculiar to no one writer here.

### 55. *The Fair Maid of the Inn.*

This is yet another play in regard to which the experts are hopelessly divided—such, at least, as do not merely imbibe their views. Fleay considered it Fletcher and Rowley's, left unfinished by them, and completed

by Massinger. Bullen also thought Massinger and Rowley the chief contributors, a very small portion being due to Fletcher. Boyle in "Englische Studien," Volume 7, gave the play to Fletcher and Massinger, but in his New Shakspere Society paper he declared Rowley also to be a sharer, though, when he came to divide it, he accorded everything to the other two, Massinger's portion being I, III. 2, and V. 3. Ward has regarded it as probably the work of Fletcher, Massinger, and another. Macaulay, who considered it guess-work to see the hand of any one not provided for by the external evidence, guessed Massinger and another. A later view of Fleay's than that mentioned above was that, originally by Fletcher and Massinger, the play was afterwards revised by Massinger and Jonson, the latter contributing II. 2-4, III. 1, IV. 2, V. 1-2. Cruickshank holds the opening scene and the closing scene, as far as Clarissa's speech, to be Massinger's, and the intervening portion Fletcher's. Chelli considers it originally Fletcher's, revised later by Massinger and (?) Rowley. Sykes advanced the revolutionary idea that the play was the joint work of Webster and Massinger; and Bullen, abandoning his own view, above-mentioned, endorsed the part-authorship of Webster. Then along came Wells, with the notion that the drama was by Webster and Ford, altered by Massinger; and this has apparently been accepted by Sykes, who tells me that he thinks Ford is to be seen in IV. 1 and probably in another scene. Finally, F. L. Lucas ("Times Literary Supplement," October 28, 1926) states categorically that the play was written by Webster in collaboration with Massinger. So much for theories; now for facts.

*The Fair Maid* was not licensed till January 22, 1625-6, after Fletcher's death, and is expressly ascribed by Herbert to Fletcher—an attribution which the experts ignore. It strangely enough does not appear in the King's men's list of 1641, though it had been licensed for the company. It was printed in the folio of 1647, but was not entered in the Stationers' Register till June 29, 1660, with *The False One*, *The Nice Valour*, *Wit at several Weapons*, *Four Plays in One*, and the masque, as Beaumont and Fletcher's. The entry was in the names of Robinson and Moseley.

Practically all critics consider the date of production fixed approximately by the date of the license; but to take that view is to ignore one or two vital considerations. If this drama and *The Noble Gentleman* had been produced for the first time in 1625-6 by the King's men, we may suppose that, like other King's plays not printed in quarto, they would have had actors' lists attached in the second folio. If, too, they had really been written by Fletcher in or about 1625, we may be sure that they would have been very tenderly handled by those to whom the work of preparation for production was entrusted: the last thing they would have thought of doing was removing every sign of the mature Fletcher. It is possible that *The Fair Maid* had to be licensed because it was so thorough a rewriting as to be practically a new play. In that case, we may be sure that it was early work that was subjected to such treatment. In "E. S." I was inclined to date it 1607, regarding it as by Beaumont and Fletcher, rewritten by Massinger and Rowley in 1625-6, or by Rowley at that date and by Massinger later. In tentatively adopt-

ing this date, I was, however, influenced by the fact that I thought I could recognize the hand of Beaumont (an opinion which I long ago decided to be an incorrect one), and by the further fact that if the play was written by Beaumont and Fletcher for some other company than the King's, it must have been prior to 1610.[1] One has, in fact, a fairly free hand in the dating of this play, since there is nothing, as in so many other plays (*Love's Cure*, for example), demanding an early date, nor yet an ascertained reference to an event occurring near to the date of the licensing. There is, as in *The Nice Valour*, an allusion to the fashion of kissing the fore-finger, and there are in IV. 2 and V. 2 references recalling various works of Jonson's—an allusion to Paracelsus and "his terrible long sword," as in *Volpone;* one to Kelly, as in *The Alchemist;* one to Ball, as in *The Staple of News* and *The Execration upon Vulcan;* one to *The New World discovered in the Moon* (which does at least give us a date of 1620 or later); and references to Butter and the Captain and Lamb, as in *The Staple of News* (1625). These would seem to be most naturally explained by regarding them as the work of some one steeped in Jonson or as the work of Jonson himself. There is also in IV. 2 a reference to the Amboyna massacre of 1622.

[1] My abandonment of the idea of Beaumont's part-authorship does not mean much after all, for the portion I accorded him was very small. Here was my division:

B and M—III. 1b (from Host's exit)
B and R—II. 1-2, III. 1a, IV. 2a (to Clown's entry)
B, Fl, and M—IV. 1b (from "Exeunt Servants" to "Enter Mariana")
M—I, III. 2b, IV. 1a, c, V. 3a, c
R—II. 3-4, IV. 2b, V. 1b, 2, 3b (from Clown's entry to exit)
M and R—III. 2a (first sixteen speeches), V. 1a (to Cesario's entry)

One indication of a late date is that "the disowning of Cesario by his mother is probably taken from 'La cour sainte' of Nicholas Caussin, published in France in 1624," according to Chambers, who further states that the plot does not at all resemble the story of "La ilustre Fregona" (one of the "Novelas Ejemplares"), which has been declared to be the source of the play. Assuming the correctness of this statement, it yet does not exclude the idea of the original play being early in date, since there is very much of the play in no way affected by the Caussin story. It would be quite possible for it to be tacked on to an early drama on another subject, and possible, too, for much of the original story to have been cut out.

There are many signs of the play having undergone revision, so that, if we are not to assume an early version, of which the 1625-6 one was a rewriting, we ought to assume a later rehandling of the original 1625-6 play. The Innkeeper and Bianca do not appear till II. 2, though the latter is the nominal heroine of the play. The "Schoolmaster" of III. 1 is the "Pedant" of IV. 2; and the Clerk of III. 1 (mute there, though it is his only appearance) does not come on the scene with Bianca's other five lovers in IV. 2, while the Coxcomb is missing in III. 1, where we are explicitly told that there are six suitors. In the final speech of the play the Duke says, "This day . . . admits no criminal sentence," though he has just sentenced Forobosco and the Clown to the galleys. Note also that the last speech before the Clown and Forobosco interlude was

> "Let this day
> Be still held sacred."

In III. 1 the Spanish word "cacafugo" is used,[2] though the scene is Italy. Mariana's husband is sometimes called "Albertus" and sometimes "Alberto," and the Great Duke is now "Florence" and again "Tuscany." It is to be noted how very small a part in the play is taken by the nominal heroine: in fact, Clarissa has quite as much claim to be considered the heroine. In II. 2 a hint is given of the Clown's intention to have Bianca stolen, but nothing comes of it.

My latest examination of the play has led me to the conclusion that Sykes and Wells are right in seeing the handiwork of Webster and Ford; where I disagree with them is in their exclusion of Fletcher. It is not easy to account for the play being in the folios if Fletcher was not concerned in it. The school of critics of whom Mr. Sykes is a leading light seems to imagine that inclusion in a collection means nothing; to me, on the contrary, it seems very strong evidence indeed. A publisher had little or nothing to gain by including in a big collection such as this plays not rightly belonging to it. Is there, for example, in either the Shakespeare or the Beaumont and Fletcher collection one of the plays to the inclusion of which these critics take exception that would have meant enough additional sales to pay for the cost of setting it up and printing it? We may be sure that in the Shakespeare volume *Titus Andronicus*, the *Henry VI* plays, and *Henry VIII* were all included in good faith, because there could be next to no inducement to include them otherwise. So in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio we may be quite sure that the pub-

[2] In this connection, the presence of a character named "Cacafugo" in *Rule a Wife* (1624) is to be noted.

lisher regarded *The Fair Maid, The Laws of Candy, Love's Cure, The Nice Valour*, and *Wit at several Weapons* as genuine; and he had far better means of knowing than we have. I maintain that such evidence should never be cast aside except for overwhelming reason; and the overwhelming reason is not to be found in this case, since, though the marks of Fletcher are exceedingly slight, being confined indeed to a single scene, they happen in that scene to be perfectly clear. From whom else could such lines as these come?

> "I will love thee,
> My good, good maid, if that can make thee happy—
> Better and better love thee."

A little further on we have:

> "Oh, you're a proud, poor man, all your oaths falsehood,
> Your vows deceit, your letters forged and wicked!"

which, wherever found, might be attributed to either Beaumont or Fletcher, but scarcely to any one else. It is just the sort of unrhyming couplet of which they, almost alone, possessed the secret. And are not these passages, brief as they are, obviously Fletcher's?

> "Then I am lost again. I have a suit too.
> You'll grant it, if you be a good man";
> "I'll pray for you,
> That you may have a virtuous wife, a fair one;
> And, when I am dead,—
> Fie, fie!—
> Think on me sometimes,
> With mercy for this trespass."

That even in that scene the work is not entirely Fletcher's is equally clear. Such a line as

"Pray, do not talk of aught what I have said t'ee,"

for example is markedly Ford's.

But it is time I gave my division of the play, which is as follows:

M—I, III. 1b (from Forobosco's exit)
F1 and F—IV. 1b (from "Exeunt Servants" to "Enter Mariana")
W—II, IV. 2a, c, V. 1, 2, 3b (from Clown's entry to exit)
W and M—IV. 2b (from Forobosco's exit to Bianca's second entry)
F—III. 1a, 2, IV. 1a, c, V. 3a, (?) c

That part of IV. 2c preceding the Sailor's entry I give to Webster only because he is in the rest of the scene, and because there is in it nothing that may not possibly be from his pen; but the fact remains that it presents nothing characteristic of him, while it contains lines that are mildly reminiscent of Beaumont, of Massinger, and of Ford. It contains the expression "You have leapt a whiting," which parallels "You leapt a haddock" in *The Scornful Lady*, IV. 1. The saying was probably proverbial. Act III. 1a I had felt very loth to credit to Webster, since it showed none of his special characteristics; but, when Wells convinced me of Ford's presence, I had no longer any doubt of the authorship of this portion of the play. The many links with Jonson in IV. 2 and V. 2 might well lead to a supposition of his participation; but there are no indications of his style; and it looks as if we here have Webster ransacking his work.

Sykes' division of the play prior to his admission of Ford's participation gave Webster III. 1, IV. 2, and V. 1. He considered III. 2 joint, and IV. 1 as probably

"mixed Massinger and Webster, mainly Webster's," though with "no positive indication of either." Of V. 3 he says that it, "with the exception of the brief passage of prose with which it concludes,"—as a matter of fact, it concludes with a blank verse speech—"is undoubtedly in the main Massinger's," though "with occasional touches of Webster." Mr. Sykes' article appears in his "Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama," where the case for Webster's participation is strongly argued.

Act IV seems to show that Fletcher and Ford did not collaborate, and also that Webster and Massinger did not do so. In all probability the play was twice revised. The prologue, which is apparently the original one, and may be from the pen of Fletcher, speaks of "our invention"; but the word "our" may refer to the company rather than to the writers, and consequently is scarcely to be judged as inferring dual authorship. I think the play is to be regarded as written in the first place by Fletcher, probably before he began his association with Beaumont, perhaps in 1606 for the Paul's boys or in 1607 for the Queen's Revels Children. I take it that it was revised for the King's in 1625; but it is difficult to say by whom, since not one of the three revisers is known to have been connected with the company at that time, though Massinger probably was. The least likely of the three is Webster; but it is precisely he who gives us the allusions that point to a date in the 'twenties. I have no way of accounting for the smallness of Fletcher's contribution, save that the play was a weak early effort, calling for heavy overwriting.

The only way of determining whether Ford worked with Webster or with Massinger is by considering the

structure of his verse. This speaks eloquently for a very late date. Comparing III. 2 with the statistics of Ford's verse given by Mr. Pierce, I find no rhyming lines, 54.9 per cent double endings (his maximum for any play being 60.3), 15 per cent triple endings (his maximum being 12.9), and 50.6 per cent run-on lines. These figures point to Ford's latest period, and suggest that he combined with Massinger in a revision not very long before his death. There is a close resemblance in plot between this play and Webster's *Devil's Law-case*.

One may note the repetition of part of the *King and no King* story and the reversing of the incestuous motive of that play. In fact, one must not too lightly dismiss the probability of the drama having been originally the work of Beaumont and Fletcher. If so little of Fletcher has been left, might not too little of Beaumont be left us to be recognizable? If, however, this incestuous motive be based on Caussin, it cannot of course be Beaumont's. It seems to be the work of Ford, to whom it would probably make special appeal.

It is to be noted that the name Forobosco is used incidentally in II. 2 of Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*.

### 56. *The Laws of Candy*.

Here is another play concerning the authorship of which the widest differences of opinion are held, and the right of which to be in the canon several critics deny. Fleay could not apparently make up his mind about it, or, rather, made it up in too many diverse ways. First he denied that it contained the work of either Beaumont or Fletcher; next he awarded it to Fletcher and Massinger; his third attempt was to give

it to Massinger and Field, considering Fletcher's share very small indeed (though that was equivalent to saying that there were three authors, and not merely two); then, in his paper on Field, he made no mention of the play, so that he had apparently abandoned the idea of Field's coöperation; and finally he returned to the idea of Fletcher and Massinger, declaring it to be in the main Massinger's, with traces of Fletcher in II. 1, III. 3, V. 1, and especially IV. 1, that author's work consisting of revising it for the stage. Boyle thought it to be by the author of *The Noble Gentleman* (probably Shirley)—a ridiculous idea, rendered impossible, so far as Shirley is concerned, by chronological considerations. This Boyle recognized later. Bullen's view is that it is "largely" by Massinger, and that "Fletcher's hand can hardly be traced." Macaulay thought it "probably" by Massinger and another. Chelli regards it as a Massinger revision of a Beaumont play. Schelling expresses the opinion that it "has certainly been submitted to a thorough rewriting by some hand other than Fletcher's." Cruickshank asserts that it contains no Massinger, which was also the opinion of Boyle, who denounced my view regarding the presence of that writer, on the absurd ground that he was not to be considered as having a hand in anything not displaying "his favorite expressions"—a view weakly echoed by Macaulay in a private communication to the writer, though, if the idea were acted on, it would deprive Massinger of a large number of scenes in his acknowledged work. Sykes, however, who avows himself a disciple of Boyle in the matter of the determination of Massinger's presence, sees it in every scene except III. 1 and 2, and considers

I, IV. 2, and V entirely his, believing that only one other hand was engaged in the play, "and that this hand was neither Beaumont nor Fletcher's." Wells regards it as "mainly by Ford, with nothing of Beaumont or Fletcher." My own view was, as given in "E. S.," that it was a very early effort of Beaumont and Fletcher's, rewritten by Massinger.[1]

Before speaking of my present view, let me give some data regarding the play. It was first published in the first folio, having been entered in the Stationers' Register by Robinson and Moseley on September 4, 1646, with twenty-eight of the other plays subsequently included in the first folio, the exceptions being *The False One, The Nice Valour, Wit at several Weapons, The Fair Maid of the Inn, Four Plays in One,* and the masque, which were none of them entered till 1660. *The Laws of Candy* shares with *The Sea-voyage* a peculiarity among the plays entered. It is added to the list in a different hand from that in which the other

[1] My division was:
B—II. 1b (final dialogue), III. 1
B and Fl—I. 2b (last twenty-two speeches), IV. 1b (from Erota's entry to Decius'), V. 1b (from Cassilane's entry to Antinous')
M—I. 1, 2a
B and M—II. 1a, III. 2, IV. 1a, c, 2, V. 1a, c
B, Fl, and M—III. 3

I took the first three speeches of IV. 1b to be Fletcher's, and the rest to be Beaumont's; and in II. 1 I held the portion from Erota's "Knows any one here what this fellow is?" to Cassilane's exit to be Beaumont's, and the preceding portion of the scene to be Massinger's. The concluding dialogue of I. 2 I considered Fletcher's.

Alden showed an inclination to agree with me when he declared that "the scenes which might be attributed to Beaumont with some plausibility" were II. 1, III. 3, IV. 1, 2, V. 1.

names are written. I think, however, that there is no significance attaching to the circumstance, that the two had merely been accidentally omitted, as is shown by the price paid fitting the total number. Yet there is a strange fact to which it is perhaps worth while to direct attention; that, of the thirty plays listed in this entry (including *The Wild-goose Chase*, which did not find its way into the folio), these two are, with the single exception of *Women Pleased*, the only ones which do not appear in the King's men's list of 1641. Setting aside *The Nice Valour*, *Wit at several Weapons*, and *Four Plays in One*, which may never have come into the possession of the King's men, it is strange to note that *The Fair Maid of the Inn* and *The False One* should have figured neither in the King's men's list nor in the Stationers' Register entry, and that two of the only other three plays missing from the company's list should have been entered in the Stationers' Register only, as it were, by an afterthought. It looks as if, when the list of 1641 was drawn up, the prompt copies of five plays had been mislaid, with the result that these five were overlooked, that three of the five were found in time to pass into the hands of Robinson and Moseley before they made their Stationers' Register entry, and that a further two turned up in time to be included in the collection. It may be that *The Sea-voyage* and *The Laws of Candy* came to hand as the main body was being entered.

Though *The Laws of Candy* is not in the King's list of 1641, there can be no doubt of its having belonged to that company, since it was acted by Taylor, Egglestone, Tooley, Sharpe, Lowin, Underwood, Birch, and

Pollard. The absence of Burbage's name and the inclusion of Taylor's shows that this is a list of a date later than March, 1618-9, when Taylor was acting with the Prince's men. Since it is not mentioned in Herbert's Office-book, the latest possible date for the performance in question is May, 1622. Lawrence, nevertheless, dates it 1623; and Wells considers it "a late work, when poets had ceased to finish their acts with a rhyme." Sykes, on the contrary, dates the part he supposes to be Massinger's 1614 or 1615.

Wells, in some notes which he kindly sent me regarding this play, made me see that Ford had to be seriously considered in connection with it. Renewed study induced me to abandon my own theory and to adopt his in great measure. Prior to this I had become somewhat doubtful about Massinger. There is irony in the fact that, while Mr. Sykes was upholding, in opposition to the object of his veneration, my view of Massinger's presence, I should be coming to the conclusion that Boyle's view had been the more correct, though I still maintained that, if he had reached the right conclusion, it was not by any sound reasoning. The objection to regarding as Massinger's the parts of the play I considered his is, not that they do not present his tricks of expression (the absence of which would be highly significant if it were a question of the entire play being his, but means nothing in single scenes) but that the manner is not Massinger's. Ford's style occasionally approaches Massinger's; and I now think the style here is much more like that of Ford than that of Massinger. The corruptness of the text adds to the difficulty of determining the authorship.

First, however, there is Fletcher to consider, for I am not so ready to leave him out of account as are Messrs. Sykes and Wells—to say nothing of Boyle and Macaulay, who seemed to think external evidence of no consequence, when it conflicted with their theories. It may be admitted at once that the signs of Fletcher are exceedingly slight; but they exist and are not to be ignored. They are to be found only in the closing dialogue of I. 2, the most characteristic passage being:

> "How have I lost a father, such a father!
> Such a one, Decius! I am miserable
> Beyond expression.—
> Fie! how unbecoming
> This shows upon your day of fame!—
> Oh, Mischief!
> I must no more come near him."

Now, if that be Fletcher, as I believe it is, it is early Fletcher; and there is no other way in which we can account for so little of his work being left but by supposing that it was immature work, subjected to a heavy overwriting. There may be touches of the early work left in other places; such a line, for instance, as

> "Will come (hear this, and quake, ye potent great ones)"
> (V.)

has a very Fletcherian appearance; but one would not be justified in regarding as his a single line in the midst of a lot of lines by another author. It may be difficult to account for there being so little Fletcher left; but it is less difficult than to account for the play being in the collection if neither Fletcher nor Beaumont had anything to do with it.

And, while I am on this matter, I may mention that, before I had abandoned the idea of Beaumont's participation, I submitted III. 1 to over twenty verse-tests in comparison with scenes in *The Woman-hater* and *A King and no King* that are unquestionably Beaumont's. With the former I found six close resemblances and nine marked divergencies, and with the latter twelve close resemblances and five marked divergencies, while, when I compared the selected portions of the other two plays with one another, I obtained a result of four against seven, so that the closest affinity was between *The Laws of Candy* and *A King and no King*, and the greatest repugnance between *The Woman-hater* and *A King and no King*, a somewhat surprising result. Opponents of verse-tests will say that this only goes to prove their uselessness. What I think it does show is that I am right in the contention I have more than once advanced, that the structure of Beaumont's verse is exceedingly variable.

Of Ford's presence in *The Laws of Candy* I feel fairly certain. Wells points out his habit of using "all what," which occurs twice in I. 2. The only other dramatist in whom I have noticed this habit is Daniel. Another instance of the same habit is to be found in *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, IV. 1:—

> "Pray, do not talk of aught what I have said t'ee."

Wells also directs attention to the following striking parallels, amongst others of less note:

> "For which this kingdom is throughout the world
> Unfellowed" (I. 1)

(the "unfellowed" being a very sensible emendation of Theobald's)

"Whose beauty is through the world unfellowed"
(*The Queen*, I. 2);

"Out of mine eyes,
As far as I have thrown thee from my heart" (II. 1)—

"I would hurl you
As far off from mine eyes as from my heart"
(*The Lover's Melancholy*, III. 2);

"There's the quintessence,
The soul, and grand elixir of my wit" (III. 1)—

"The quintessence,
Soul, and elixir of the earth's abundance"
(*The Broken Heart*, IV. 2);

"The great elixir, soul, and quintessence
Of all divine perfections"
(*The Lover's Melancholy*, II. 1);

"Love me or kill me . . .
Say, must I live or die?" (IV. 1)—

"Must I now live or die? . . .
Love me or kill me"
(*'Tis Pity*, I. 3).

Wells also points out that the phrase, "Things done long ago" (III. 2), which occurs also in a famous passage in *The Lover's Melancholy*, IV. 2, is found nowhere else in the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays. Apart from these very strong parallels, it is to be noted that the vocabulary is markedly Fordian.

Turning now to Massinger, it is with much regret that I find myself compelled to disagree with Mr.

Sykes, the more so as his view is largely the one I formerly held, though I did not reach it by his road. I should have been glad to have the strong confirmation of similar results arrived at by a different method; but truth compels me to state that I think I was mistaken; and Mr. Sykes' parallels are not sufficiently convincing to persuade me that I was right. The only ones that seem to me to amount to anything are these: (1) the form in which Antinous' petition is put and received; but there is nothing in this that might not come quite naturally to another dramatist; (2) the close combination, in II. 1, of the words "penn'd" and "studied," as so often in Massinger; but, though I had marked this as the most Massingerian fragment in the play, I cannot give it to him, when I see so little that is reminiscent of his style; (3) in V, the "statue" simile, which is frequent in Massinger, but to which he had no prescriptive right; (4) also in V, "the stream of your affections," parallels to which are quoted from *The Duke of Milan* and Massinger's part of *The Bloody Brother:* but, amusingly enough, Wells claims it for Ford, on the strength of parallels in *The Queen* and *The Lover's Melancholy*, while frankly pointing out the use of the expression by Massinger. There we have a first-class proof of the danger of this method of determination. For one to be able to say that such parallels are of value one needs a knowledge of the literature of the time which it is safe to say no one possesses—not even the encyclopædic Mr. J. M. Robertson. So many of these things are common property that the results one obtains by searching merely through the work of a single dramatist are apt to be exceedingly misleading. It is the

class of error that we are all liable to fall into, and against which we cannot too carefully guard. I do not wish it to be supposed that I desire to infer that Mr. Sykes is peculiarly and uniquely capable of error—I have far too much respect for his knowledge and his industry to do that. It is the method rather than the man that I am referring to; and, if it happens to come up in connection with his name, it is because he is the leading and most active follower of that method. The other parallels he adduces in regard to *The Laws of Candy* do not impress me, because in some cases the parallelism seems to me of little importance; in others, because it is not peculiar to Massinger; and, in yet others, because it does not parallel.

My own view of the play is that it is wholly Ford's, save for one little bit of Fletcher. If I were to acknowledge the presence of Massinger it would be in the early part of II; but I do not. My view of the play may then be set out thus:

F1—I. 2b (concluding dialogue)
F—the rest

There is a difficulty as to the date. Ford was not connected with the King's men at the time when the play was acted by the cast given in the second folio. His rewriting of it must then have been done at some other time. He was probably with King's in 1613, and certainly with them in 1628. A study of the characteristics of the verse makes it quite clear that it belongs to his later period. Three scenes (I. 1, III. 1, and IV. 2) of which I made a test, to see how they fitted in with Mr. Pierce's figures (as given in an earlier part of this

work, when Ford's characteristics were dealt with), gave the following results:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Double endings— | 31.5 per cent, 39.2, 40: | average, 36.8 |
| Triple endings— | 6.7 per cent, 4.1, 11.1: | average, 7.5 |
| Run-on lines— | 78.7 per cent, 35.1, 36.7: | average, 51 |
| Rhyme— | | *nil* |

The actors' list of about 1620 presents a difficulty which has to be faced frankly. The little bit of Fletcher left does not seem of that late date; nor is it altogether credible that work of his of that period would be so thoroughly overwritten in the late 'twenties. The likeliest explanation I can offer is that the play was revived then in its original form, and proved a rank failure; or that Fletcher revised it thoroughly, but that this version is lost. It may be easier to join Mr. Wells in abandoning altogether the idea of the participation of Fletcher; but, if we do that, we are met by the stumbling-block of having to account for the inclusion of the play in the Beaumont and Fletcher collection, and, what is of equal importance, its ascription to them in the Stationers' Register entry of September 4, 1646.

What I do not believe, though I was at first inclined to do so, is that the actors' list can be of the original production of the King's men, the play having come from another company. We have already considered the importance of these lists in certain respects; but they have yet another significance to which no attention has yet been directed. Of the thirty-five plays which it had been intended to print in the first folio (that is to say, the thirty-four that duly appeared and *The Wild-goose Chase*), only ten are without lists in the second folio. Three of these are not known ever to

have got to King's, and, it is fair to assume, never did get there. The whole ten may be regarded as having been originally produced by other companies. To put the matter in another way, of the thirty-five plays, not one that can positively be said to have been originally a King's play is without an actors' list. Of the twenty-five with lists, twenty give us what may be assumed to be the names of performers in the original productions. Nineteen of these are King's plays; one (*The Honest Man's Fortune*) is to be credited to the Lady Elizabeth's. Of the remaining five, one (*The Coxcomb*) has a list that was not that of the original production by the Queen's Revels Children, but that probably was that of the first production by the Lady Elizabeth's. That leaves four which have King's lists that are not those of the original performances. One of these, *The Wild-goose Chase*, is generally considered (probably correctly) to have been first produced by the King's men; and I have shown reason to consider that *Women Pleased* stands in the same category. There remain two plays, *Bonduca* and *The Laws of Candy*. Why should not they also be regarded as originally King's plays? A deduction to be drawn from the facts adduced is that no play originally given by another company was given a King's men's list when later produced by that company, though all these plays obviously reached the publisher from King's. In view of what was done with *The Honest Man's Fortune* and *The Coxcomb*, on the one hand, and *The Woman's Prize* and *Love's Cure*, on the other, it is reasonable to regard *Bonduca* and *The Laws of Candy* as originally written for the King's men.

There are one or two small signs of Ford to which I

may draw attention—the objective "ye"; the beginning of a speech with the name of the person addressed; the repeating of a word or phrase for emphasis, as—

"Taught by me, by me, thy father" (I. 2);

"Might in that,
That only of but following me, be happy" (I. 2);

"That, that's the poison in the gilded cup" (II. 1);

yet, at the end of I. 2, I count

"This day has proved my worst, Decius, my worst"

as Fletcher's. It is really much more a Fordian repetition than a Fletcherian one. One may note also the use more than once of "but only." In IV. 1 occurs a line which Mr. Wells may add to his proofs, inasmuch as it seems to me the most thoroughly characteristic Ford line in the play:

"And pulls us living to the dust we came from."

And, finally, it may be well to note the identity of touch in five passages from five several scenes, two of the five thus beginning:

"Admit no soldier near us till the senate
Have took their places.—
You are obeyed, my lord.—
Decius, fall off.—
I shall" (I. 2);

"Tell him my love
Is vow'd to him.—
I shall" (III. 1);

"Leave us.—
I shall" (III. 3);

"Fernando, I must speak with you in secret.—
You shall" (IV. 2);

"You, my lord Fernando,
With the ambassador, withdraw a while.—
My lords, we shall" (V).

In III. 2 Cassilane reminds one of Calianax in *A King and no King;* and Gonzalo is sufficiently like Jonson's Politic Would-be to make one wonder if he should be regarded as an imitation by Beaumont. The punning in III. 2 and IV. 1 is to be noted.

Is there not an omission in V. 1 before Erota's "Antinous, urge me no further"? In III. 1 also there seems to be an omission at the entry of Gaspero, a speech by Fernando having apparently dropped out. The short line, "Now, worthy Gaspero, what," in the same scene, may be a relic of a longer speech.[2]

[2] Since the completion of my work I have received a communication from Mr. Bertram Lloyd, mention of which must be made. Though that gentleman has not made any special study of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, he is an authority upon Ford and has also made a careful study of Middleton. I therefore asked him to let me know his views upon the presence of these two writers in the collection. These views I have now much pleasure in giving.

*The Laws of Candy* he considers "likely to be by Ford in parts," adding "There are signs of his special vocabulary and phraseology *passim*, and in the first edition several more such indications, which were altered in the second edition. I'm convinced of his hand in V and III, and think that he likely wrote a part of the rest (*e.g.*, I. 1)."

In regard to *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, he comes very close to my own view when he says "I can't doubt that Ford wrote IV. 1; and much of III. 1 (possibly III. 2 also) seems to me more like him than Webster, to whom Sykes ascribes it."

I am in entire agreement with him when he says, "I can't imagine that Ford had aught to do with *The Faithful Friends*."

*Wit at several Weapons* seems to him "obviously" mainly Middleton's: "his hall-mark is on it. But II and V—in part at least—seem to be by another (?Rowley)." It will be noted that, like myself, he seems to be dubious regarding the generally accepted Rowleian participation.

In regard to *Love's Cure* he says, "Is not Middleton's hand indicated

in III. 3 or 4? Acts I and V must be Massinger's. Did he revise it later, from an old play, by Dekker and Middleton perhaps?"

He sees no real signs of Middleton in *The Noble Gentleman* "beyond a few of his phrases and words."

Regarding *The Nice Valour* he makes the very non-committal remark: "I suppose Middleton is the most likely author to have collaborated with Fletcher." But is it a question of collaboration?

### 57. *The Maid in the Mill.*

The two interesting plays next to be considered both have strong external evidence as to their authorship; nor is there among the experts any serious difference of opinion regarding them. *The Maid in the Mill* is regarded as Fletcher and Rowley's by every one except Chelli, who awards it to Fletcher and an unknown. This unanimity of opinion is not remarkable in view of the circumstance that it is ascribed to Fletcher and Rowley by Herbert. Yet it is a singular fact that, when Rowley joined in the writing of this, he was, nominally at least, a Prince's man. It was licensed for production by the King's men August 29, 1623, the principal parts being taken by Taylor, Lowin, Underwood, Rowley, Thompson, Benfield, and Pollard; and it was presented at Court three times that year. It was first printed in the folio of 1647.

My division of it is that given in "E. S.":

F1—I, III. 2, 3, V. 2a
R—II, III. 1, IV, V. 1, 2b (from "Oh, sleeve! oh, sleeve!")

The distributions by Fleay, Boyle, and Macaulay agree with my own; and Dyce came very near the truth when he accorded Rowley most of II, all IV, and various speeches elsewhere. The partitions of Miss Wiggin and Dr. Stork coincide with mine; so that for once there

seems to be almost absolute agreement. Miss Wiggin points out the following similarities to Rowley's work in *The Changeling:*

> "Oh, your wife, Franio?—
> 'Tis 'Oh, my wife,' indeed" (V. 2);
>
> "I am old Lollio.—
> No, sir, 'tis I am old Lollio"
> (*The Changeling*, I. 2);
>
> "Shall I walk by the tree, desire the fruit,
> Yet be so nice to pull" (IV. 1);
>
> "Shall I alone
> Walk through the gardens of th' Hesperides
> And cowardly not dare to pull an apple?"
> (*The Changeling*, III. 3).

I agree with Fleay in thinking that the play has been revised. One might naturally suppose that, Rowley being a Queen's man, and the play being given by King's, it was originally by him, but submitted to some alteration by Fletcher. I believe, on the contrary, that it was probably written in collaboration, but that it was, much later, revised by Rowley. However that may be, there are certainly plentiful signs of revision. There are two Pedros, the one, a singer (II. 1), being Rowley's; the other, a courtier (III. 2), being Fletcher's. Neither serves any purpose, and one does not speak. There are also two Philippos, and one of them appears in only a single scene, with two other named characters who do not again appear, the three of them speaking but the once, and then together. They are addressed by name, but might as well have been omitted. They are probably a relic of the earlier version. Yet again, Lisauro is mute in V. 2, though he is a very long time on the stage.

Mr. P. E. More gives the following statistics of the use of "you" and "ye": III. 1, 16-0; III. 2, 25-19; III. 3, 55-59; V. 2a (to "*Enter Antonio*) 38-34; V. 2b, 73-0. This is confirmatory of my division.

That the 1623 production was the original one is evidenced by the fact that the play is based partly on Digges' "Gerardo" (a translation from the Spanish), which was published in 1622.

### 58. *The Night-walker.*

Save Chelli, who ascribes it to Fletcher and an unknown, no one has defied the external evidence which gives *The Night-walker* to Fletcher and Shirley, though Wells attaches a note of interrogation to the name of the latter. The evidence is quite explicit, Herbert telling us that the play, which he licensed on May 11, 1633, for the Queen's men, was "a play of Fletcher's, corrected by Shirley, called 'The Night-walkers.'" It is true that, when it was acted at Court in January, 1633-4, he speaks of it as "made by Fletcher"; but that in no way invalidates the former entry. As before, he entered it as Fletcher's; but this time he did not think it necessary to add the name of the reviser. In 1640 it was published by Crooke and Cooke as Fletcher's, the former in a dedication also speaking of it as Fletcher's; but it is absolutely certain that it was not printed as Fletcher wrote it, since it contains an allusion to Prynne's "Histriomastix," issued in 1633, the very year of Shirley's alterations, and long after Fletcher's death. Moreover, the title-page assures us that it is given "as it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane"; and also the double names of two of

the characters show revision. The name of the scapegrace hero has been altered by Shirley from Wildgoose to Wildbrain, though he failed to remove all traces of the old name, which never occurs in his part of the play, but only in Fletcher's. In the other case, Fletcher seems merely to have used "Toby" as a nickname for Nicholas. As I am dealing with this matter of revision, I may mention here that, though, in III. 6, there is no sign of the Lady's recognition of Maria, she speaks, in IV. 6, as if she had recognized her from the first. With a dramatic convention that permitted of thoughts being expressed in asides, it is not likely that there would be a recognition with which the audience was not made acquainted; so we may probably lay the blame for the inconsistency on the fact of revision. So too, in III. 6, the inducements of the gentlemen have been dropped out, though we have Heartlove's reply:

> "He is no friend that wishes my departure:
> I do not trouble you."

The conclusion of the play also shows signs of alteration. How can the last scene be placed in the Lady's house, when she says, "Home! forward, with glad hearts!—Home, child!" It may be presumed that Fletcher's name for the play was "The Little Thief," which appears as the sub-title on the quarto. It has been suggested that it is a rewriting of *The Devil of Dowgate;* but, as that play was written for the King's men, the idea cannot be accepted, for the original version of *The Night-walker* must have been written for some other company than King's. It figures among the Fletcher plays in the Cockpit list of 1639, and appeared

in a second quarto before being included in the folio of 1679.

In dating the original play the choice must be between a time prior to Fletcher's first connection with the King's men and the time immediately succeeding the burning of the Globe, when he was with the Lady Elizabeth's. I favor the former, because the verse of the Fletcher portion seems to me early in style.[1] There is also in III. 3 an allusion to *A Woman killed with Kindness*, which Fletcher also referred to in *The Woman's Prize*.

My apportionment of the scenes is as follows:[2]

[1] Lawrence supplies me with the following interesting note: "I note you date Fletcher's part of *The Night-walker ca.* 1609-10. If you mean by this that the play was produced about that period, my reply would be that the evidence is entirely against you. The play was licensed as entirely new in 1633. Now, though the players were not above trying to palm off an old play on the public as new, they would not have attempted to deceive the licenser, seeing that the licensing fee for a new play was just double what the fee was for reallowing an old one. Shirley must have worked on an unfinished play of Fletcher's." This is a strong argument, since Herbert's fee in this case was £2; but I would urge that an unacted play of Fletcher's was far more likely to have found its way to the King's men than to the Queen's; that, if the manuscript of the play had been found among Fletcher's papers after his death, it would not have waited till 1633 for production; and that Herbert does not speak of it as a new play or even as one finished by Shirley, but only as corrected by him. His charges were, it may be remarked, very variable, and there may have been special reason for his high fee in this case.

[2] My "E. S." allotment was:

Fl—I. 1b-8, II. 1-3, 4c (last nine speeches), III. 1-2, 3b (from Lurcher's entry), 5, IV. 1, 3-4

Sh—II. 4a, IV. 2, 6, V. 2a (to "*Alathe goes to Maria*")

Fl and Sh—I. 1a (to Heartlove's entry), II. 4b (from Lurcher's entry), III. 3a, 4, 6, IV. 5, V. 1, 2b

Minor alterations I have made in regard to this play are to give Fletcher the whole of I. 1, II. 4, III. 3, and V. 1, where I formerly saw also Shirley's revising hand. It must be admitted, however, that Lurcher's triple recognition of Wildbrain in V. 1 is against my present view. This scene I take to be early Fletcher, while much of I. 1 is either early or corrupt. Act III, scene 3, is very much in the style of scenes in *The Woman's Prize*, an early play of Fletcher's. In III. 4 a fragment of Fletcher is left, this consisting of the first two speeches. Act IV, scene 2, is almost wholly Shirley's, only the three speeches immediately preceding the final two being a relic of Fletcher's work. Similarly, in the first ten speeches of V. 2, Fletcher's hand is to be seen as well as Shirley's, while as regards the concluding portion of the scene, from Maria's entry, I hesitate between considering it as corrupt Fletcher and looking on it as the work of Fletcher overwritten by Shirley, to whom the rest of the scene is due. I was at first greatly inclined to regard IV. 6 as based on Beaumont, but I have come to the conclusion that it is really a very material overwriting of Fletcher by Shirley. It is, however, not to be overlooked that, if, as I believe, this play was, in its original form, of very early date, Beaumont's coöperation with Fletcher is entirely probable.

Fleay gave Fletcher to the end of III. 2 and declared the rest so altered by Shirley as to defy separation. Boyle gave Shirley III. 3-4, IV. 1-2, 6, V. 2, from "Enter Heartlove" to "Enter Nurse"; and Fletcher the balance. Macaulay thought I-III Fletcher's, revised; and

Fl—I, II, III. 1-3, 5, IV. 1, 3, 4, V. 1
Fl and Sh—the rest

IV-V Shirley's. He considered the original play was perhaps as early as 1614 (which is nearly as late as he could make it, in the circumstances). Wells is "inclined to date the earlier version to the same year with *The Winter's Tale*." Thorndike suggests that "the new book of fools" referred to in the play may be Armin's "Nest of Ninnies," issued in 1608; and, for my own part, I am inclined to accept that suggestion, and date Fletcher's work accordingly.

### 59. *The Widow.*

The last play to be considered is that brilliant comedy, *The Widow*, which many of the critics would not include. It was published in 1652 by Moseley, as the work of Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, and as acted at Blackfriars by "His late Majesty's Servants," with words to the reader by Alexander Gough, an actor who had belonged to the King's company as early as 1626 and at least as late as 1636, and who, Langbaine tells us, "helpt Mr Mosely, the bookseller, to this and several other dramatic manuscripts." In his address Gough vouches for the correctness of the attribution on the title-page. On the other hand, it is ascribed by Kirkman to Middleton and Rowley, is not in either folio, and, in a catalogue at the end of the play, is attributed to Middleton alone (a fact of little significance, since it is seldom that more than a single author is mentioned, *The Maid in the Mill*, for example, being credited to Rowley, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to Shakespeare. Of more importance than any of these circumstances is the fact that in an extant copy the names of Jonson and Fletcher have been scored through in an old hand, and

the word "alone" written after the name of Middleton. It is to be presumed that that would hardly have been done without special knowledge on the part of the writer; and it is perhaps significant that the two names questioned are two of three amongst those of the old dramatists that had a selling value at the time of publication. If there was fraud, it was not necessarily on the part of the publisher: it may have been on the part of Gough. The problem is one that can only be determined by the internal evidence. That the performing company was rightly declared to be King's is shown by the inclusion of the play in the King's men's list of 1641; but it does not follow that it had not previously belonged to some other company, like so many other plays listed there.

Gifford denied Jonson's presence; at least, he could not "discover many traces" of him; but Collier found him all through IV. Fleay considered it Middleton's, though containing perhaps some Jonson, and dated it 1624-5. Later, he supposed that Fletcher might have started revision, Jonson taking the work up at his death, but the play remaining practically Middleton's. Boyle gave it to Middleton. Macaulay looked on it as "probably" Middleton's; and this is also Sykes' view. Wells declares for Middleton alone. Havelock Ellis thinks that "Fletcher may possibly have had a finger in it: the first two acts certainly resemble Fletcher's manner." Lawrence accepts the attribution to the three authors named on the title-page of the quarto, and considers it was produced at the Blackfriars in 1607. Bullen dates it 1608-9 "from internal evidence," but thinks it was revised later, not improbably by Fletcher, though

he cannot discover either Jonson's hand or, "unless the songs be his," Fletcher's. Dyce thought it "evident enough" that Middleton was the principal author and that in several scenes the pen of Jonson might be "distinctly traced," but added, "Fletcher's share in it (if indeed he bore any) must have been very unimportant."

In my "E. S." article I expressed the view that the play contained no Fletcher, and that, if there was any Jonson, it must be in IV. 2, part of which was "certainly in his manner," though it might be only an imitation of him; whereas Middleton's hand might be "traced in every scene." I still think that Jonson is not present, and that Middleton is to be seen in every scene; but I now credit Fletcher with a small share in the play, though not too confidently. The fragment that determines me to list this among the plays in which he was concerned consists of the first nine speeches of V. 1. If that be not his, the idea of his presence may be abandoned. If, however, that be conceded to be his, his hand may also be seen, with Middleton's, in that part of IV. 1 following Violetta's entry, and in V, as far as Martia's first entry. I confess to feeling great uncertainty; and assuredly, were the play connected with the name of Middleton alone, I should look no further. Even as it is, I should not feel justified in giving Fletcher a share were it not for the fact that the play is in structure and character much nearer to the comedy of Fletcher than to that of Middleton.

As to the date, the mention of yellow bands as "hateful" must be an allusion to Mrs. Turner's wearing of them at her execution in November, 1615. Whether a

passage paralleling one in *The Honest Lawyer* (published in 1616) is the original or the imitation is doubtful. In either case a date of 1616 is pointed to. A supposed allusion to *The Scornful Lady* fits into the same date. The repetition of an incident in V in Jonson's *New Inn* need not imply a later date and may have bearing upon the question of authorship. The style of Middleton's work here is consistent with a date of 1616. If anything, despite Bullen's dictum, it would be more opposed to an earlier date than to a later one.

I may direct attention to a circumstance so trifling as to be important, since it seems an indication of a habit. I allude to the occurrence in three scenes—II. 1, III. 1, and IV. 2—of the phrase (and the contraction) "Le' me see." I am not aware that this occurs elsewhere in Middleton; but neither can I say that it is used elsewhere by Fletcher. I may also draw attention to the inversions, which are rather like those in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—"Call in vain 'tis" (III. 2); "match they did together" (V. 1). One may note by way of comparison that in *The Spanish Gipsy* we have such strange inversions as "flow let 'em to a full sea" (II. 1), "her marriest thou or none" (IV. 3), "hang let her there" (IV. 3). These are not peculiar to any poet. Two of them, for instance, find a parallel in Shirley's "Sleep let her ashes" (*The Royal Master*, I. 1).

I conclude my examination of these plays most doubtfully, feeling scarcely warranted in including this one. If one suppose from the Fletcherian nature of the comedy that Fletcher sketched out the story for Middleton, it is not likely that he would have contributed to the writing the trifling portion I credit him with: he would

have done either a great deal or nothing. If, on the other hand, this small portion be rightly considered to contain his work, the only reasonable conclusion to come to is that it was early work of his, written for a boys' company, and long afterwards handed over to Middleton to make a good play out of. That would be long before it came into the hands of the King's men. There are only two things I feel certain of in connection with it: the one is that it is practically wholly Middleton's (Fletcher's share, if any, being so small as hardly to be worth consideration); the other is that, as it stands, it dates from not earlier than the end of 1615 and not later than the early part of 1617.

Since the above was written, Mr. W. J. Lawrence has favored me with the following note upon this play: "Reed dates the play 1616-1620 on the strength of an allusion which might have been added in a revision. The brief prologue is of the early Jacobean type, and refers to the play as 'a sport only for Christmas.' The bulk of the evidence points to a date *circa* 1607, and to production at a private theatre by boy players. One of the proofs is that the songs are sung by the characters, and not by a special singing boy. No company of boy players was in existence 1616-1620. My theory is that the play came after *Eastward Hoe* at the Blackfriars, when, owing to the recent trouble, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston being no longer able to collaborate (they never worked together again), Jonson joined with Middleton and Fletcher in a play of London life, in which the characters were given foreign names and the scene laid in Istria. In *Eastward Hoe* Touchstone has a catch phrase, 'Work upon that now,' and Security another,

'I do hunger and thirst to do you service.' In *The Widow*, the Second Suitor uses 'I have enough, and I will have my humor.' The catch phrase seems to have been in vogue 1599-1606. See *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. The play ends in the Jonsonian manner (as in *The Alchemist*) by a chief character coming forward to speak a tag-epilogue."

This is an important contribution to the subject, and confirms my view that we have here a 1616 rewriting of an old boys' play. The 1616 date seems to me quite certain; and, as Mr. Lawrence makes it equally certain that the play was originally by a boys' company, it means that, if the production in that year was the original one, it must have been performed by the Queen's Revels Children at Porter's Hall, for, despite what Mr. Lawrence says, they were acting there in that year. The prologue seems to me Middleton's, and the "tag-epilogue," as Mr. Lawrence calls it, is assuredly his. (I believe, by the way, that at least one line has dropped out of it.) Nevertheless, while I hold that the extant version was given at Porter's Hall in 1616 by Rosseter's company, I think it probable that the original play, which is more likely to have been a crude, early effort by Fletcher for the same company than joint work by him and Jonson and Middleton, dates, as Mr. Lawrence supposes, from 1607. I cannot imagine a rewriting in 1616 of work done by Jonson in 1607, so severe as to mean Jonson's practical elimination. The work of the younger and more inexperienced Fletcher would be an entirely different proposition for Middleton to deal with. For these reasons, I adhere to my date

of 1616 for the play as it stands. Whether this was the original date is another matter. If I am right in supposing a Fletcher basis, 1607, as advocated by Mr. Lawrence, appears a suitable date for the early form; and, even if there be no hand but Middleton's in the play, a first version in 1607 and a revised one in 1616 is a quite reasonable supposition.

THERE seems an unaccountable objection on the part of many scholars to suppose that any dramatist of the period began his work earlier than the first definite reference that is made to it. I have commented on this in the case of Middleton and in the case of Ford; and it applies similarly to Beaumont and Fletcher. If it were not for the early printing of *The Woman-hater*, historians would tell us that Beaumont did not commence his career till 1609 or thereabouts, just as they appear to think it most improper to suppose that Fletcher did anything prior to *The Faithful Shepherdess*, when he was in his thirtieth year. Now there can be no doubt about the earliness of *The Woman-hater*, and to suppose that Beaumont did nothing between then and 1609 or thereabouts is absurd. That he and Fletcher were exceedingly busy during the half-dozen years preceding 1610 I have not the slightest doubt. In the effort here made to fill up the gaps I have probably made very grave miscalculations; but at least, whatever my errors of deduction may be, I feel sure that I have not gone so far astray as I should have done had I followed the timid policy of commencing Fletcher's career in 1608 or 1609.

There is also the question of what Fletcher did during the last ten months of his life. The last play of his to be licensed during his lifetime was *Rule a Wife*, in October, 1624, and he did not die till August, 1625. We need not suppose that he was a martyr to ill health, which prevented him from pursuing his wonted activities; for, when he died, it was not as the outcome of

a prolonged illness, but through his falling a victim to the plague epidemic. It seems most probable that he had ceased dramatic authorship, or that, for some reason or other, he had occupied himself with the revision of some of his old plays, and perhaps also of plays by other dramatists.

Besides the opening years of Beaumont and Fletcher and the closing months of the latter, there is difficulty in regard to the closing years of Beaumont, the work of Fletcher during the same period, and the latter's production for two or three years after the death of Beaumont. I make no claim that I have accounted satisfactorily for the labors of these years; but I have at least not tried to fill in at random. All I can say for the year 1617, for instance, is that I do not know what Fletcher was doing then; but, though I hazard a suggestion in regard to it, I make no attempt to provide the dramatist with a complete program. The reasons for the datings given here have in every case been stated when the various plays have been dealt with.

Prior to 1605-6

1a. *Women Pleased*, first version, by Fletcher, for King's, 1603.

2a. *Bonduca*, first version, by Fletcher, for King's.

3a. *The Laws of Candy*, first version, by Fletcher, for King's.

4. *Mador*, by Beaumont, probably for Paul's.

5a. *Wit at several Weapons*, first version, by Beaumont, for Paul's.

6a. *Love's Cure*, first version, by Beaumont, for Paul's, as "The Martial Maid."

1605-6 to 1608-9

7. *The Woman-hater*, by Beaumont, for Paul's, as "The Hungry Courtier," 1605-6; and revised by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1606. (It is quite likely, however, that Beaumont's first version may have been about 1604, and his revised version, in which he was helped by Fletcher, 1605-6.)

8a. *The Noble Gentleman*, first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Paul's, 1606.

9. *A Right Woman*, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

10a. *The Faithful Friends*, first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels (?).

11a. *The Nice Valour*, first version, by Beaumont, for Paul's, 1606.

12a. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, first version, by Fletcher, for Paul's or Queen's Revels.

13a. *The Woman's Prize*, first version, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, as "The Tamer Tamed," 1606-7.

14a. *The Widow*, first version, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels.

15a. *Cupid's Revenge*, first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels.

16a. *Thierry and Theodoret*, first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels.

17a. *Beggars' Bush*, first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1608-9.

1609 and 1610

18. *The Faithful Shepherdess*, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1609.

56a. *The Wild-goose Chase*, first version, by Fletcher, for King's.

19a. *The Coxcomb,* first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1609.

20a. *The Birth of Merlin,* first version, under some other title, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels.

21a. *The Night-walker,* first version, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1609-10 or earlier, as "The Little Thief."

13b. *The Woman's Prize,* second version, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels.

22a. *Monsieur Thomas,* first version, by Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1609, as "Father's Own Son."

23a. *Philaster,* by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, about 1609, as "Love lies a-bleeding."

5b. *Wit at several Weapons,* second version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, about 1609-10.

24. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1610.

25a. *The Scornful Lady,* first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Queen's Revels, 1610.

1610-1 to 1611-2

10b. *The Faithful Friends,* second version, by Field, for Queen's Revels, about 1610-1.

26a. *The Captain,* first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for King's, early in 1611.

2b. *Bonduca,* second version, by Fletcher, for King's, 1611.

27a. *A King and no King,* by Beaumont and Fletcher, for King's, 1611.

28a. *The Maid's Tragedy,* by Beaumont and Fletcher, for King's, 1611.

15b. *Cupid's Revenge*, second version, by Field, for Queen's Revels, 1611. (At Court also in 1612-3.)

1612 and 1613

29. *Julius Cæsar*, revision by Beaumont for King's, about 1613.

23b. *Philaster*, acted at Court, by King's, 1612-3, probably as revised by Beaumont and Fletcher.

26b. *The Captain*, acted at Court, by King's, 1612-3, perhaps (but improbably) as revised by Fletcher.

30. *Valentinian*, by Fletcher, for King's, 1611-4.

27b. *A King and no King*, acted at Court, by King's, 1612-3, perhaps as revised by Beaumont and Fletcher.

31a. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, first version, by Tourneur, Webster, and Field, for Elizabeth's, March, 1612-3.

32a. *Double Falsehood*, first version, by Fletcher and Shakespeare, for King's, 1613, as "Cardenio."

33a. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, first version, by Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher, for King's, 1613.

34a. *Henry VIII*, first version, by Shakespeare and Fletcher, for King's, June, 1613, as "All is True."

19b. *The Coxcomb*, revived, in 1612, by Queen's Revels, was played in 1613 by Elizabeth's, and may have been revised by Fletcher on that occasion.

5c. *Wit at several Weapons*, third version, by Middleton and Rowley, for Elizabeth's.

8b. *The Noble Gentleman*, second version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's.

28b. *The Maid's Tragedy*, acted at Court by King's, 1612-3, perhaps as revised by Beaumont and Fletcher.

1613-4 to 1615-6

35. Unknown play, by Fletcher, Field, Massinger, and Daborne, for Elizabeth's.

10c. *The Faithful Friends,* third version, by Massinger, for Elizabeth's or Queen's Revels, 1613-4.

36a. *The Elder Brother,* first version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, 1614.

37a. *Four Plays in One,* first version, by Fletcher and Field, for Queen's Revels, 1613-1615.

34b. *Henry VIII,* second version, by Massinger, for King's, 1614.

38a. *Wit without Money,* by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, late in 1614.

39a. *The Bloody Brother,* first version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, about 1614-5, as "Rollo."

40a. *Love's Pilgrimage,* first version, by Beaumont and Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, 1615, as "The Lovers' Pilgrimage."

25b. *The Scornful Lady,* second version, Beaumont and Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, 1615.

41a. *The Chances,* first version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, about 1615.

11b. *The Nice Valour,* second version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, 1613-1615.

22b. *Monsieur Thomas,* second version, by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's, 1615.

16b. *Thierry and Theodoret,* second version, by Massinger, for King's, 1615-6.

42a. *A Very Woman,* first version, as "The Prince of Tarent," by Fletcher, for Elizabeth's; date altogether doubtful.

1616

43a. *The Queen of Corinth,* first version, by Fletcher, Massinger, and Field, for King's, early in the year.

44a. *The Knight of Malta,* first version, by Fletcher, Massinger, and Field, for King's.

45. *The Mad Lover,* by Fletcher, for King's, late in the year.

14b. *The Widow,* second version, by Middleton, for Elizabeth's.

1617

26c. *The Captain,* second version, by Fletcher, for King's; date altogether doubtful.

1618 to 1619-20

46a. *The Loyal Subject,* by Fletcher, for King's, November, 1618.

47. *The Humorous Lieutenant,* by Fletcher, for King's, 1619.

48. *The Jeweller of Amsterdam,* by Fletcher, Massinger, and Field, for King's, 1619.

49. *Barnavelt,* by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's, 1619.

3b. *The Laws of Candy,* performed by King's between March, 1618-9, and May, 1622, may possibly have been revised by Fletcher, though no trace of such revision remains.

1620

50a. *The Custom of the Country,* first version, by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's.

51a. *The Double Marriage,* first version, by Fletcher (and perhaps Massinger), for King's.

52. *The False One,* by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's.

53. *The Little French Lawyer,* by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's.

39b. *The Bloody Brother,* second version, by Jonson and another, for Elizabeth's.

20b. *The Birth of Merlin,* second version, by Rowley, for Elizabeth's, 1616-1622.

1621

1b. *Women Pleased,* second version, by Fletcher, for King's, early in the year.

54. *The Island Princess,* by Fletcher, for King's.

55. *The Pilgrim,* by Fletcher, for King's.

56b. *The Wild-goose Chase,* second version, by Fletcher, for King's.

19c. *The Coxcomb,* acted at Court, by King's, March, 1621-2, may have represented a revision by Fletcher (and perhaps Massinger). The rewriting for the second version is likelier to have been done for this production than for either the 1612 production or that of 1613.

1622

17b. *Beggars' Bush,* second version, by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's, before May.

57. *The Prophetess,* by Fletcher and Massinger, on a sixteenth-century foundation, for King's, May.

58a. *The Sea-voyage,* first version, by Fletcher (and perhaps Massinger), for King's, June.

59. *The Spanish Curate*, by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's, October.

6b. *Love's Cure*, second version, by Jonson, for Elizabeth's.

1623

43b. *The Queen of Corinth*, second version, by Fletcher, for King's; date indeterminable: may perhaps fit in here.

60a. *The Maid in the Mill*, first version, by Fletcher and Rowley, for King's, August.

61. *The Devil of Dowgate*, by Fletcher, for King's, October.

62a. *The Lover's Progress*, first version, by Fletcher, for King's, December, as "The Wandering Lovers."

1624 and 1625

63. *A Wife for a Month*, by Fletcher, for King's, May, 1624.

64. *Rule a Wife*, by Fletcher, for King's, October, 1624.

31b. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, second version, by Fletcher and Massinger, for King's, February, 1624-5.

11c. *The Nice Valour*, third version, by Middleton, for Elizabeth's, about 1624-5.

37b. *Four Plays in One*, second version, by Fletcher, for production at Court, 1625.

40b. *Love's Pilgrimage*, second version, begun by Jonson, probably for Elizabeth's.

33b. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, acted by King's, about 1625, may possibly have been revised by Fletcher.

41b. *The Chances*, second version, by Fletcher, for King's, 1625.

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Later productions, excluding, as hitherto, those which could not possibly have affected the published versions, are:

12b. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, second version, by Webster, for King's, January, 1625-6. Third version, by Massinger and Ford, for King's, in the late 'thirties.

8c. *The Noble Gentleman*, King's, February, 1625-6, apparently not revised.

36b. *The Elder Brother*, second version, by Massinger, prior to November, 1633.

44b. *The Knight of Malta*, second version, by Massinger, prior to November, 1633.

50b. *The Custom of the Country*, second version, by Massinger, acted at Court, by King's, 1628.

58b. *The Sea-voyage*, second version, by Massinger, for King's, prior to November, 1633.

51b. *The Double Marriage*, second version, by Massinger, for King's, prior to November, 1633.

56c. *The Wild-goose Chase*, acted by King's, 1631, apparently not revised.

6c. *Love's Cure*, third version, by Massinger, for King's, prior to November, 1633.

21b. *The Night-walker*, second version, by Shirley, for Queen's, May, 1633.

13c. *The Woman's Prize*, acted by King's, October, 1633, as "The Tamer Tamed," apparently not revised —at least, if there was a revised version, it has not come down to us.

46b. *The Loyal Subject*, acted by King's, November, 1633, apparently not revised.

60b. *The Maid in the Mill*, second version, by Rowley, for King's, prior to November, 1633.

42b. *A Very Woman*, second version, by Massinger, for King's, June, 1634.

62b. *The Lover's Progress*, second version, by Massinger, for King's, 1634, perhaps as "Lysander and Calista."

40c. *Love's Pilgrimage*, second version, by Jonson, licensed for King's, September, 1635. Also presented at Court, by King's, December, 1636.

19d. *The Coxcomb*, by King's, 1636, may have represented a third version, by Massinger.

39c. *The Bloody Brother*, third version, by Massinger, for King's, 1636.

38b. *Wit without Money*, acted by Beeston's, 1636-7, apparently without revision.

3c. *The Laws of Candy*, second version, by Ford, for King's, in the late 'thirties.

32b. *Double Falsehood*, second version, by Theobald, 1727.

## *Scene Divisions.*

IT is advisable that I should explain the system on which I have divided the plays into scenes. I have not followed the old editions, because they are not consistent; and there is a similar reason for not following the modern editors, who do not always agree with one another. I wanted to adopt a plan that could be applied always, so that it would be possible to compare the number of scenes in the various plays I am dealing with and to compare them with other plays by the dramatists concerned. I therefore determined to begin a new scene whenever (and only when) the stage had been left empty, unless the newcomers were manifestly in the same place as those who had just gone out and there had been no great lapse of time. For many years now I have divided plays on this basis, and I have found it to work well. I was glad, therefore, when I saw Mr. Crompton Rhodes adopting the same system or something very closely approximating to it. In the table in which I summarize my results, I have set down, on this basis, the number of scenes in each play, since it seems to me that there is some significance attaching to the difference we find in this respect between those plays in which Beaumont was concerned and those in which he was not concerned. Omitting from consideration, for obvious reasons, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, we find that, of seven plays for which Beaumont is partly responsible in which the hand of no one else save Fletcher is to be seen, none has more scenes than twenty-one and none fewer than twelve, the average

being sixteen, while twelve other plays in which he had a hand, but which later underwent alteration by others than Fletcher, present a slightly higher average (about seventeen and a half), though the range is greater, stretching from nine to twenty-five. In the sixteen plays wholly by Fletcher the average number of scenes is twenty-three, the range being from sixteen to thirty-one. Nineteen is the figure for the eleven plays wholly by Fletcher and Massinger, whether written in collaboration or not, the range being from fourteen to twenty-seven; nor was there much difference when they were joined by Field, each of the two plays written by these three men without the coöperation of others having eighteen scenes. When Tourneur and Webster are added to the group (in *The Honest Man's Fortune*), the number drops to fifteen. When Fletcher collaborated with Rowley, his tendency to follow the line of least resistance seems to have been held in check somewhat, for *The Maid in the Mill* has but thirteen scenes. Shakespeare seems to have exercised no such good influence in this respect, for *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has twenty-five scenes, and *Henry VIII*, seventeen. Though *Double Falsehood* has but fourteen, one cannot set much store by that circumstance, in view of Theobald's reconstitution of it. These figures serve then to show that Fletcher's habit of composition was to have as many scenes as suited his purpose (which was ordinarily to create a sense of life and of movement), while Beaumont, being more of an artist, sought to keep down the number to what seemed to him a minimum. Of the other dramatists here mentioned, we find that Jonson (excluding plays with interludes, and not counting in-

ductions) averages over fifteen scenes for thirteen plays, the numbers ranging from nine to twenty-four; that Field has twelve scenes in one play and fifteen in the other; that Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* has nineteen (I take no note of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, because I cannot convince myself that it is his); that, of the only two Rowley plays that I have at hand for reference, there are seventeen scenes in the one and nineteen in the other; that in fifteen completed plays wholly by Massinger there is an average of sixteen scenes, ranging from ten to twenty-five; and that in twenty-nine of the thirty-six plays in the Shakespeare folio (omitting the *Henry VI* trilogy, *Henry VIII*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Timon of Athens*) there is a range of from nine to forty, with an average of over twenty. A study of these figures will show that the numbers for Fletcher and Massinger in conjunction are such as might be expected and will make it understandable why Shakespeare exercised no moderating influence on Fletcher in this connection.

## *Summary of Findings.*

THE accompanying table summarizes the results of my investigations. I have employed the following abbreviations:

| | |
|---|---|
| B—Beaumont | Ml—Marlowe |
| F—Ford | R—Rowley |
| Fd—Field | S—Shakespeare |
| Fl—Fletcher | Sh—Shirley |
| J—Jonson | T—Tourneur |
| M—Massinger | Th—Theobald |
| Md—Middleton | W—Webster |

*x—Unknown author*

It is to be noted that, of the fifty-nine plays listed, Fletcher appears in fifty-seven, Massinger in twenty-one, Beaumont in twenty, Field in six, Shakespeare in four, Jonson in three, Middleton in three, Ford in two, Rowley in two, Webster in two, and each of the other four authors named in one, while thrice (exclusive of the choruses in *The Prophetess*) I do not attempt to name the writer. If we count only the fifty-two plays which appear in the second folio, omitting eight dealt with here, and adding *The Coronation*, we get the following figures: Fletcher 50, Massinger 18, Beaumont 17, Field 5, Jonson 3, Middleton 2, Ford 2, Webster 2, Shirley 2, Shakespeare 1, Rowley 1, Tourneur 1, the number unattributed remaining unchanged.

| No. of Authors | Play | Total No. of Scenes | Act and Scenes I | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| 2 | Barnavelt | 27 | M | M | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Beggars' Bush | 20 | M | M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Birth of Merlin | 17 | [B,] Fl | [B,] Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Bloody Brother | 11 | M | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Bonduca | 20 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Captain | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Chances | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl |
| 3 | Coxcomb | 24 | B, Fl, M | Fl, M | Fl | B | Fl | B | | | | | |
| 3 | Cupid's Revenge | 23 | Fl, Fd | Fl | B | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Custom of the C. | 21 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Dbl. Falsehood | 14 | S, Th | S, Th | S, Th | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Dbl. Marriage | 17 | M | M | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Elder Brother | 17 | M | M | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Fair Maid | 14 | M | M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Faithful Fr. | 15 | Fd, M | [B,] Fd | B, Fd | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Faithful Sh. | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | False One | 16 | M | M | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Four Plays | 21+ | Induction, Fd | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Interludes prior to *The Triumph of Death*, Fd | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Henry VIII | 17 | S | S, M | Fl, M | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Honest Man's F. | 15 | T | T | T | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Humorous Lt. | 27 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Island Princess | 25 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Julius Cæsar | 17 | Ml, S | Ml, S, B | [Ml,] S | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | King and No King | 15 | B | B | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Kt. of Malta | 18 | Fd | Fd | Fd | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Kt. of the B. P. | 25+ | B | B | B | B | | | | | | | |
| | | | Induction and all interludes, B | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Laws of Candy | 9 | F | Fl, F | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Little Fr. L. | 20 | M | M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Love's Cure | 17 | M | M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Love's Pilgr. | 19 | J, Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Lover's Prog. | 19 | Fl, M | Fl, M | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Loyal Subject | 31 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 1 | Mad Lover | 20 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid in the Mill | 13 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid's Tragedy | 12 | B | B | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | M. Thomas | 30 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Nice Valour | 9 | B, Fl, Md | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Night-walker | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Noble Gent. | 16 | B, Fl | Fl | Fl | B | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Philaster | 19 | B, Fl | B | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Pilgrim | 21 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 (3) | Prophetess | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 1st chorus, *X*, M | | 2nd chorus, *X* | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Queen of C. | 18 | M | M | M | M | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Rule a Wife | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Scornful Lady | 13 | B | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Sea-voyage | 14 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Spanish Curate | 21 | M | M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Thierry | 13 | Fl | M | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Two Noble Kins. | 25 | S | S | S | S | S | | | | | | |
| 1 | Valentinian | 24 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Very Woman | 18 | M | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Widow | 10 | Md | Md | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wife for a M. | 19 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wild-goose Ch. | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Wit at sev. W. | 12 | Md | ? B | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wit without M. | 22 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Woman-hater | 15 | B | B | B | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Woman's Prize | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Women Pleased | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |

| No. of Authors | Play | Total No. of Scenes | Act and Scenes II | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 2 | Barnavelt | 27 | M | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 3 | Beggars' Bush | 20 | B | B, Fl | B, M | B | | | | | |
| 3 | Birth of Merlin | 17 | Fl, R | B, Fl | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Bloody Brother | 11 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 1 | Bonduca | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Captain | 21 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Chances | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Coxcomb | 24 | Fl | B, Fl | Fl | B | | | | | |
| 3 | Cupid's Revenge | 23 | Fd | [B,] Fd | Fl | Fd | B | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Custom of the C. | 21 | M | M | M | M | | | | | |
| 3 | Dbl. Falsehood | 14 | S, Th | S, Th | Th | Th | | | | | |
| 2 | Dbl. Marriage | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Elder Brother | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 4 | Fair Maid | 14 | W | W | W | W | | | | | |
| 4 | Faithful Fr. | 15 | Fl [Fd] | B [Fd] | Fl, Fd, M | | | | | | |
| 1 | Faithful Sh. | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | False One | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Four Plays | 21+ | *Triumph of Honor* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | | | | |
| 3 | Henry VIII | 17 | Fl, M | Fl, M | S, Fl | S | | | | | |
| 5 | Honest Man's F. | 15 | T | W | T | W, Fd | | | | | |
| 1 | Humorous Lt. | 27 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Island Princess | 25 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl |
| 3 | Julius Cæsar | 17 | Ml, S | Ml, S | Ml, S | S | | | | | |
| 2 | King and No King | 15 | B | B | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Kt. of Malta | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Kt. of the B. P. | 23+ | B | B | B | B | B | B | B | | |
| 2 | Laws of Candy | 9 | F | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Little Fr. L. | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 4 | Love's Cure | 17 | B | B, J, M | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Love's Pilgr. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Lover's Prog. | 19 | Fl, M | M | Fl [M] | Fl, M | | | | | |
| 1 | Loyal Subject | 31 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 1 | Mad Lover | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid in the Mill | 13 | R | R | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid's Tragedy | 12 | B | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 1 | M. Thomas | 30 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 3 | Nice Valour | 9 | Fl, Md | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Night-walker | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Noble Gent. | 16 | B, Fl | B, Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Philaster | 19 | B | B, Fl | B | B, Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Pilgrim | 21 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 (3) | Prophetess | 17 | M | M | M | | | | | | |
| 3 | Queen of C. | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Rule a Wife | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Scornful Lady | 13 | B | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Sea-voyage | 14 | M | [Fl,] M | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Spanish Curate | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Thierry | 13 | M | Fl | Fl | M | | | | | |
| 3 | Two Noble Kins. | 25 | S, Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Valentinian | 24 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Very Woman | 18 | M | M | Fl, M | | | | | | |
| 2 | Widow | 10 | Md | Md | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wife for a M. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 1 | Wild-goose Ch. | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 4 | Wit at sev. W. | 12 | Md | [B, Md] | B | *X* | | | | | |
| 1 | Wit without M. | 22 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Woman-hater | 15 | B | B | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Woman's Prize | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 1 | Women Pleased | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |

| No. of Authors | Play | Total No. of Scenes | Act and Scenes III | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 2 | Barnavelt | 27 | Fl | M | ? | Fl | M | Fl | | |
| 3 | Beggars' Bush | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 3 | Birth of Merlin | 17 | [Fl,] R | ? B | R | R | R | B, Fl | | |
| 4 | Bloody Brother | 11 | *X*, Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 1 | Bonduca | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Captain | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 1 | Chances | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 3 | Coxcomb | 24 | Fl, M | Fl | B, Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Cupid's Revenge | 23 | B | B | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Custom of the C. | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | M | M | | | |
| 3 | Dbl. Falsehood | 14 | S, Th | S, Th | Fl, Th | | | | | |
| 2 | Dbl. Marriage | 17 | Fl, M | Fl, M | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Elder Brother | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 4 | Fair Maid | 14 | F, M | F | | | | | | |
| 4 | Faithful Fr. | 15 | ? Fd | B | B, Fd | | | | | |
| 1 | Faithful Sh. | 18 | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 | False One | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Four Plays | 21+ | *Triumph of Love* | | | | | | | |
| | | | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | | |
| 3 | Henry VIII | 17 | Fl | S, Fl | | | | | | |
| 5 | Honest Man's F. | 15 | W, M | W, M | W, M | | | | | |
| 1 | Humorous Lt. | 27 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | |
| 1 | Island Princess | 25 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Julius Cæsar | 17 | S | S | S | | | | | |
| 2 | King and No King | 15 | B | B | B | | | | | |
| 3 | Kt. of Malta | 18 | Fl | M | M | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Kt. of the B. P. | 25+ | B | B | B | B | B | | | |
| 2 | Laws of Candy | 9 | F | F | F | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Little Fr. L. | 20 | M | Fl | M | Fl | | | | |
| 4 | Love's Cure | 17 | J | J | ? B | B [M] | B | | | |
| 3 | Love's Pilgr. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Lover's Prog. | 19 | M | M | Fl, M | M | Fl | Fl, M | | |
| 1 | Loyal Subject | 31 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 1 | Mad Lover | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 2 | Maid in the Mill | 13 | R | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid's Tragedy | 12 | B | B | B | | | | | |
| 1 | M. Thomas | 30 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Nice Valour | 9 | [B, Fl,] Md | B, Fl, Md | B, Md | | | | | |
| 2 | Night-walker | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl, Sh | Fl | Fl, Sh | | |
| 2 | Noble Gent. | 16 | Fl | B, Fl | B | B | | | | |
| 2 | Philaster | 19 | B | B, Fl | | | | | | |
| 1 | Pilgrim | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl |
| 2 (3) | Prophetess | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Queen of C. | 18 | Fd | Fd | | | | | | |
| 1 | Rule a Wife | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Scornful Lady | 13 | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Sea-voyage | 14 | Fl, M | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Spanish Curate | 21 | Fl | Fl | M | Fl | | | | |
| 3 | Thierry | 13 | B, M | B [M] | B, M | | | | | |
| 3 | Two Noble Kins. | 25 | S | S | Fl | Fl | Fl, B | Fl | | |
| 1 | Valentinian | 24 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Very Woman | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl, M | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Widow | 10 | Md | Md | Md | | | | | |
| 1 | Wife for a M. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Wild-goose Ch. | 16 | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Wit at sev. W. | 12 | Md | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wit without M. | 22 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 2 | Woman-hater | 15 | B, Fl | B | B | | | | | |
| 1 | Woman's Prize | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Women Pleased | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |

| No. of Authors | Play | Total No. of Scenes | Act and Scenes IV 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Barnavelt | 27 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | M | M | |
| 3 | Beggars' Bush | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | [B,] Fl | | | |
| 3 | Birth of Merlin | 17 | Fl, R | ? B | ? B | ? B | R | | | | |
| 4 | Bloody Brother | 11 | J | J | *X* | | | | | | |
| 1 | Bonduca | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Captain | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | B, Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Chances | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 3 | Coxcomb | 24 | B | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | [B, Fl] | Fl | |
| 3 | Cupid's Revenge | 23 | B | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fd | | | | |
| 2 | Custom of the C. | 21 | M | M | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 3 | Dbl. Falsehood | 14 | S, Fl, Th | Fl, Th | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Dbl. Marriage | 17 | M | M | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Elder Brother | 17 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 4 | Fair Maid | 14 | Fl, F | W, M | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Faithful Fr. | 15 | [Fl,] B, Fd | [Fd,] M | [B, Fl,] M | Fd | | | | | |
| 1 | Faithful Sh. | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | False One | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Four Plays | 21+ | *Triumph of Death* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 3 | Henry VIII | 17 | S, Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Honest Man's F. | 15 | Fd | Fd | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Humorous Lt. | 27 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | |
| 1 | Island Princess | 25 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 3 | Julius Cæsar | 17 | S | S, B | | | | | | | |
| 2 | King and No King | 15 | Fl | Fl | Fl | B | | | | | |
| 3 | Kt. of Malta | 18 | Fl, M | Fl | M | Fl, M | | | | | |
| 2 | Kt. of the B. P. | 25+ | B | B | B | B, Fl | B | B | | | |
| 2 | Laws of Candy | 9 | F | F | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Little Fr. L. | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | M | Fl, M | Fl, M | | |
| 4 | Love's Cure | 17 | M | M | M | M | | | | | |
| 3 | Love's Pilgr. | 19 | B | B | B | | | | | | |
| 2 | Lover's Prog. | 19 | M | M | M | Fl, M | | | | | |
| 1 | Loyal Subject | 31 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 1 | Mad Lover | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Maid in the Mill | 13 | R | R | R | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid's Tragedy | 12 | Fl | B | | | | | | | |
| 1 | M. Thomas | 30 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl |
| 3 | Nice Valour | 9 | [B,]Fl,Md | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Night-walker | 26 | Fl | Fl, Sh | Fl | Fl | Fl, Sh | Fl, Sh | | | |
| 2 | Noble Gent. | 16 | Fl | Fl | B | B, Fl | B | | | | |
| 2 | Philaster | 19 | B | B | B | B | B | B | | | |
| 1 | Pilgrim | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 (3) | Prophetess | 17 | M | M | M | M | M | | | | |
| 3 | Queen of C. | 18 | Fd | Fd | Fd | Fd | | | | | |
| 1 | Rule a Wife | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Scornful Lady | 13 | B, Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Sea-voyage | 14 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Spanish Curate | 21 | M | Fl | Fl | M | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 3 | Thierry | 13 | Fl | M | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Two Noble Kins. | 25 | Fl | Fl | B | | | | | | |
| 1 | Valentinian | 24 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Very Woman | 18 | Fl | M | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Widow | 10 | Fl, Md | Md | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wife for a M. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Wild-goose Ch. | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 4 | Wit at sev. W. | 12 | Fl, B, Md | Md | Md | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wit without M. | 22 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 | Woman-hater | 15 | B | B | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Woman's Prize | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 1 | Women Pleased | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |

| No. of Authors | Play | Total No. of Scenes | Act and Scenes V | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 2 | Barnavelt | 27 | M, Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Beggars' Bush | 20 | B, Fl, M | B, M | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Birth of Merlin | 17 | R | R | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Bloody Brother | 11 | Fl, M | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Bonduca | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Captain | 21 | Fl | B, Fl | Fl | B, Fl | B, Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Chances | 26 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Coxcomb | 24 | B | B | B, Fl | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Cupid's Revenge | 23 | Fd | Fl | Fl | Fl, Fd | | | | | | |
| 2 | Custom of the C. | 21 | M | M | M | M | Fl, M | | | | | |
| 3 | Dbl. Falsehood | 14 | Fl, Th | [S,] Fl, Th | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Dbl. Marriage | 17 | Fl | Fl | M | M | | | | | | |
| 2 | Elder Brother | 17 | Fl, M | M | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Fair Maid | 14 | W | W | W, F | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Faithful Fr. | 15 | Fd | Fd | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Faithful Sh. | 18 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | False One | 16 | M | M | M | M | | | | | | |
| 2 | Four Plays | 21+ | *Triumph of Time* | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Later interludes and finale, | | | | | Fl |
| 3 | Henry VIII | 17 | S | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 5 | Honest Man's F. | 15 | Fl | Fl | Fl, Fd | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Humorous Lt. | 27 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Island Princess | 25 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 3 | Julius Cæsar | 17 | Ml, S | Ml | Ml | S | [Ml,] S | | | | | |
| 2 | King and No King | 15 | Fl | B | Fl | B | | | | | | |
| 3 | Kt. of Malta | 18 | Fd | Fd | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Kt. of the B. P. | 25+ | B | B | B | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Laws of Candy | 9 | F | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Little Fr. L. | 20 | Fl, M | Fl | M | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Love's Cure | 17 | M | M | B, M, *X* | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Love's Pilgr. | 19 | B | B | B | B | B | B | | | | |
| 2 | Lover's Prog. | 19 | M | M | M | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Loyal Subject | 31 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | |
| 1 | Mad Lover | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid in the Mill | 13 | R | Fl, R | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Maid's Tragedy | 12 | B, Fl | Fl | B | | | | | | | |
| 1 | M. Thomas | 30 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl |
| 3 | Nice Valour | 9 | Md | Md | Md | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Night-walker | 26 | Fl | Fl, Sh | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Noble Gent. | 16 | B, Fl | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Philaster | 19 | B | B | Fl | Fl | B | | | | | |
| 1 | Pilgrim | 21 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 2 (3) | Prophetess | 17 | M | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Queen of C. | 18 | M | M | Fl, Fd | M | | | | | | |
| 1 | Rule a Wife | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Scornful Lady | 13 | Fl | B | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 2 | Sea-voyage | 14 | Fl, M | M | M | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Spanish Curate | 21 | M | Fl | M | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Thierry | 13 | B, Fl | Fl | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Two Noble Kins. | 25 | S, Fl | S | S | Fl | S | S | | | | |
| 1 | Valentinian | 24 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | |
| 2 | Very Woman | 18 | M | M | M | M | M | M | | | | |
| 2 | Widow | 10 | Fl, Md | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wife for a M. | 19 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wild-goose Ch. | 16 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | |
| 4 | Wit at sev. W. | 12 | Fl, *X* | B, *X* | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Wit without M. | 22 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | |
| 2 | Woman-hater | 15 | B | B | B | B | B, Fl | | | | | |
| 1 | Woman's Prize | 23 | Fl | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | |
| 1 | Women Pleased | 20 | Fl | Fl | Fl | | | | | | | |

## *Conclusion.*

THERE are two things I wish to say in conclusion. The first is that this work has been done under enormous disadvantages, far away from my books. The access kindly given me to several American university libraries has helped me greatly, but it has not enabled me to supply the complete bibliography of the subject I should have liked to give. I have preferred to content myself with the brief bibliographical note at the beginning of the volume rather than to give something purporting to be complete and not being so.

The other remark I wish to make is, that I have striven not to be dogmatic or unfair. I do not think it would have been possible for any one to have been readier to consider without prejudice views opposed to his own, and I have not hesitated to point out facts opposed to my theories. This attempt to be fair and to have no other object than the ascertainment of the truth may frequently make my views seem more uncertain than they really are, just as my open admission of errors may excite the ridicule of those who have no conception of the difficulty of such work, or who, because they do recognize it, have never had the courage to attempt the task.

Further investigation by more competent scholars will probably convict me of errors of reasoning and of judgment. I am quite prepared to believe it. Several of my conclusions may fail to gain acceptance. I have no complaint to make if they do so fail. Regarding many I feel fairly confident; but there are others which I ad-

vance hesitatingly. Such are the cases in which I believe I have to deal with the early Beaumont or the early Fletcher or in which I have to distinguish between Beaumont and his close follower, Field.

If this work be helpful in inducing other and younger scholars to take up a particularly fascinating task, in which they may easily outdistance my slight accomplishment, I shall have my reward for the time and thought I have devoted to what has been truly a labor of love.

FINIS

# APPENDIX

## *The Faithful Friends.*

It was not till this work was in type and practically ready for publication that I was able to obtain a copy of *The Faithful Friends* (in Weber's edition of "The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher"), for reconsideration in view of the information given me by Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum. It seems advisable then that I should incorporate the results of this reconsideration in a postscript. It is, however, matter for regret that I have not available for study the original manuscript of the play. All I can build on are the reproductions of various pages, kindly lent me by Dr. Tannenbaum, and the notes in Weber's edition of the play.

Excluding alterations, corrections, and the filling up of lacunæ, there are three hands observable in the manuscript. The first supplies the title, the list of characters, and the first three pages, ending with "*Ruf.* How, Marius?" in scene 1, and also the last page, which consists of the play's last two speeches. The second writer is responsible for all the rest, with the exception of IV. 4, which is in a third hand. (If the dumb show at the conclusion of IV. 1 be reckoned as a separate scene, this will, of course, be IV. 5.) The manuscript is evidently a prompter's copy.

The first thing to be remarked is that the main hand is that of a scribe—someone engaged to make a clean copy for the prompter. The proof of this seems to me perfectly clear. In II. 2 he put Dindimus' name in a sidehead; but the speech itself, "Your curtaled Gime," had to be filled in by another (Weber says, "in the later hand"), the inference being plain that the scribe could not read what the author had written. Again, in III. 3, in the line

Which shed, Titus Martius, by the gods of Rome,

a blank was left for the name, which was supplied later "by another hand." This case seems to me much less convincing than the other, since it is difficult to conceive of the scribe as being unable to read the name of one of the most prominent characters in the piece. Perhaps the author had, by a slip, given the wrong name, and the intelligent scribe, perceiving the error, thought it advisable to leave a blank for the author to fill in. In IV. 1, the fourteenth line similarly had a gap, apparently because of the author's illegibility. Here the word "weariness" was supplied "in another apparently modern hand." In IV. 2 another of these lacunæ occurs, one line being given as

> See that a banquet be prepared,

space being left for a missing word, which, however, was allowed to remain missing. Similarly, in the next scene, we have

> Is this the devil's I am gone.

It seems to me that, in the light of these instances, we need have no doubt that the main writer of the manuscript was merely one engaged in making a fair copy.

The next question to be considered is, what was the relation of the writer of the beginning and the end of the play (Dr. Tannenbaum's "B") to this scribe (whom he calls "A")? This is a problem by no means easy of solution. Was he the (or an) original author? was he what is now known as a play-doctor? was he a later reviser? or was he merely another scribe? Weber assumes for him the position of reviser of the original play, which he regards as by "A." That view is certainly partly wrong, and may be wholly wrong.

We have seen that the *dramatis personæ* is in the hand of "B"; it is to be noted that the alterations also on that page are in his hand. I do not attach a great deal of importance to the alteration in the description of Marius: it may have been merely the correction of a slip; but the alteration

in the description of Rufinus, Learchus, and Leontius can scarcely be the work of a copyist. (It seems to me that, after scratching out the word "Villains," the writer started to write something else, and then changed it to "Soldiers.") It does not follow that this is the work of the author, or one of the authors, of the play: it may have been supplied by another, fulfilling the prompter's requirements. From this circumstance, there is not, in my opinion, any sound deduction to be made.

The other alteration, if it be not, as I believe, a correction of a mere slip, assumes considerable importance. The implication is, in that case, that the play has undergone a material rewriting. If that be so, "B" is to be regarded as either a reviser or a scribe writing out the work of a reviser. But, though, as I have pointed out, the play has almost certainly undergone rewriting, I am not of the opinion that we should regard so seriously the alteration in the description of Marius. It seems to me that the immediate recognition of a blunder affords the most plausible explanation of the fact. The circumstance that the word "brother" was not even completed points in that direction.

Why then are the opening and the close of the play in a different hand from that in which the body of the piece is written? Did "B" begin the fair copy of a play that he had written, do three pages, then hand it over to a scribe, and take it from him to write out himself the last two speeches? That idea is preposterous. Nor need we consider all the work in "A's" hand to be by one writer, and that in the hand of "B" to be by another; the fact that "A" is a copyist renders that unnecessary. Is "B" then a reviser of the original work? Here let us note that the numbering of the pages is continuous (excluding from consideration for the moment IV. 4). Is "B's" portion then the work of a reviser who was dissatisfied with the beginning and the ending, and rewrote them? Before answering that question, it would be well to know whether

the writing on page 3 fills the page or not; and this unfortunately I have no means of knowing. If it do not, it is fair to assume that it was later revisory work, taking the place of three cancelled pages; if it do (and, in view of the extent of the matter on page 1, I judge that this is the case, "B's" remaining lines being just sufficient, at the same rate, for the filling of another two pages), it would seem as if "B" wrote the first three pages, and then handed the work over to "A," in which case these two hands are of the one date. But there is another explanation, which I believe to be the correct one: "B" was, like "A," a scribe, but of a somewhat later date; he was commissioned merely to supply a list and description of the characters and to re-do the first three pages and the last page, which had suffered from wear and tear, as such pages are apt to suffer. If this theory be correct, and I see no good reason to doubt it, the whole of the MS. with the exception of IV. 4 is in the hands of scribes.

What then of IV. 4? That it is an insertion is obvious from the fact that the page which contains it is not numbered, and also because at the end of the previous scene in the manuscript is "The Plott of a Scene of Mirth, to conclude the Fourth Act." What follows describes the scene which appears on the odd sheet, and ends with the words "Finis 4 Act." There are two possible explanations: the original author may have intended this to be given in dumb show, and later someone thought it might be well to provide words for it; or, the words of the scene having been lost, a "plott" was supplied from memory, and later the scene was found and incorporated. I am inclined to adopt the latter of these alternatives, though all the critics are agreed in regarding the scene as a late insertion. That it is in the author's autograph seems more than likely, since one speech (inserted in the margin, in the handwriting of the rest of the scene) has undergone what looks like an author's correction. To regard the scene as an old

fragment recovered and replaced solves most of the problems that puzzled me, to which I refer on page 362. I no longer have to regard the hand that is the most old-fashioned as being the latest of the three; and am glad that, despite Dr. Tannenbaum's assurance that Massinger in 1629 was employing the old English script with certain Italian elements (precisely as in this unnumbered sheet), I have not to suppose that Massinger at a late date supplied this childish scene.

The question of the authorship of the scene remains to be considered. I accorded it to Field, and see no reason to alter my determination. Though I accept Dr. Tannenbaum's pronouncement that it is a Massinger autograph, I can neither believe that it is later in date than the manuscript of *Believe as you list* nor accept it as the composition of Massinger. It shows not a trace of his style, and, it seems to me, cannot possibly have emanated from him in his maturity. It would tax one's credulity to accept it as his work even in his early days, when his manner was yet unformed or only in process of formation. What worried me in connection with my division of the play was to find a scene in Massinger's hand which was not in his manner and other portions of the play in his style yet not in his hand. The latter difficulty disappeared when I realized that the play as a whole was not in the authors' writing. The other remains; yet there too there may be no need to regard the writer as the author. In 1613-4 Massinger had not attained a prominent position, and may well have been required to make a clean copy of a scene by Field that was not particularly legible, especially as Field, being a leading actor, had his time fairly well occupied otherwise. That is the view I adopt, rather than one that would make the scene the work of Massinger before he had developed even the first glimmerings of his distinctive style.

As for the corrections in the manuscript, these are sometimes, according to Weber, in "a later" or "more modern" hand, sometimes in "an old" hand, sometimes, vaguely, in

"another" hand. One may judge from this that they are not all in the one hand. The alterations are not of much moment. In II. 1 we have a quite new line, "We are not disposed to pray" substituted for nine lines marked for omission. In II. 2 there is another entire alteration of a line because the whole of the Rufinus-Philadelpha dialogue was marked for omission; but afterwards the passage was restored, to judge by the "stet" written "in a more modern hand." In the same scene a speech is added. In IV. 2 "What's this toy?" is altered to "See, the king's entranced!" and the succeeding seven lines are marked for omission. Most or all of the alterations in these scenes are, if Weber is to be trusted, in a later hand; those in I. 2 are in an old English hand. One insertion is that mentioned on p. 361. When the soldiers come in with drum and colors, the reviser strikes out the word "drum," and substitutes "constable" for "colours," though the Constable is already on the stage. The line

> To have nothing but my wits to live upon

is changed to

> To have no other living but my wits.

All these alterations are so slight that it is hardly worth while to bother about them.

In conclusion, a few odd notes. On p. 360, I was misled by a modern editor into speaking of "tapsters and messengers" in the *dramatis personæ*. The only supernumeraries mentioned on the title-page of the manuscript are Lictors, Senators, and Messengers. On pages 363 and 364 I connect with Field a passage and a phrase that occur in that opening portion of the first scene which I ascribe to Massinger. I should, in fact, have awarded I. 1a to Field and Massinger, instead of to Massinger alone, regarding Massinger's work as based on Field's, though the first four speeches show no sign of the lesser and earlier man.

Although, then, I declare on p. 363 my readiness to confess myself mistaken, I no longer feel that I am. To have Massinger's work in the handwriting of another does not overwhelm me now that I recognize that other for a scribe, and even to have in Massinger's hand work that is not his does not seem to me now an insuperable difficulty. I am indeed, if anything, a little surer than I was, by reason of the discovery of the presence of Massinger. If I be right in that, when no one else suspected his connection with the play, I may, I feel, be right also in regard to those whom I regard as the other participants.

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Since the above was written, I have asked Dr. Tannenbaum to favor me further by reconsidering his verdict upon the probable date of the Massinger autograph, the scene IV. 4. The opinion expressed as the result of his examination is as follows:

"The Massinger inscription in a copy of his *Duke of Milan* (1623) was undoubtedly written some years before the manuscript of *Believe as you list.* The handwriting in the former is almost wholly old English, is neat, slightly ornamental, careful, and vigorous; in the latter the writing is decidedly careless, much less ornate, more uniformly shaded, some old English letters (*e.g.*, 'a,' 'b,' 'c,') have disappeared, and the writing is liberally mixed with Roman letters. In the two pages of *The Faithful Friends* the writing is coarser than in *Believe as you list,* and is much more freely mixed with modern Roman letters. I am of the opinion, therefore, that the addition to *The Faithful Friends* was written a few years after *Believe as you list,* about 1635."

If that view of the relationship of the three autographs be correct, I, still firm in the belief that Massinger cannot have been responsible for the composition of this scene that is in his

writing, am driven to the conclusion that, for a revival of the play towards the end of his career, Massinger copied out a recovered scene of Field's, perhaps because it was very dilapidated, perhaps because it was not very legible. The only stumbling-block is the correction to the speech added in the margin. All I can suggest is, that Massinger, starting to copy out this speech, which he had omitted by oversight, came to the conclusion that he could better it. He may have regarded the word "riddle" (if it be really "riddle": it is also read "rival") as not appropriate (as indeed it is not) and have decided to substitute "periphrasis." The objection to regarding the correction as the work of a copyist applies just as much to 1613-4 as to the late 'thirties. I do not profess to regard my explanation of the probable course of events as entirely satisfactory; but, granting (1) that the writing is Massinger's and (2) that the verse is not his, I see no better way of accounting for the phenomena.

---

### *Thierry and Theodoret.*

Being far from satisfied with the results of my investigations of this tragedy, and having to re-read it in connection with a course on Beaumont and Fletcher at the University of Virginia, I have taken advantage of the opportunity to study it once more, to see if I could come to any definite conclusion as to the presence of Beaumont. I have to confess that I have made no advance. The only changes I have to make in my allotment are the following minor ones: the opening scene is not entirely Fletcher's, his work having been overwritten by Massinger, from whom come the first five speeches, the rest of the scene being mainly Fletcher's; regarding II. 2 I am very doubtful, but I am more inclined to regard it as Beaumont's than as Fletcher's; while in III. 1b it is not Beaumont, but Fletcher, on whom Massinger's work is based.

It may be worth while to point out the resemblance in style between Fletcher's work in *Henry VIII* and the dialogue between Ordella and Thierry in IV. 1 of this play and the dialogue between Thierry and Brunhalt in the closing scene.

The little use made of Memberge is singular, and may perhaps be an indication of either abbreviation or alteration. In two scenes she does not speak.

One may notice also the use of the word "parricide" as meaning a mother's murder of her son. This occurs both in IV. 2 and in V. 1b. It would be reasonable to attribute both passages to the one writer; but I cannot do so. In the one case it seems to me Massinger who is responsible; in the other, not; yet in II. 1 we have Massinger using the word as meaning matricide.

On pages 65 and 66, when dealing with Massinger's phraseology, I mentioned his fondness for "though" and "although," the conjunctive "yet," "rather" (as indicating preference, but without "than"), "nor," and "nay." I have applied the test to this play, with entirely satisfactory results, except in the case of "nor," which I have considered only when it has a verb entirely to itself. It occurs five times in the portions I attribute wholly to Massinger, twice in portions he overwrote, and seven times elsewhere. "Nay" is found 21 times in Massinger scenes (18 of these being wholly his), and seven times elsewhere; "yet," eleven times in scenes wholly by Massinger, eight times in scenes in which he was not concerned; "though," seventeen times where he is seen alone, thrice where he is seen as a reviser, and twice where he is not found; "although," four times in scenes wholly Massinger's, never elsewhere; and "rather," five times where Massinger is seen alone, and never where he is not seen. In the case of the last-named three, it is evident then that we have here a very distinguishing characteristic of Massinger—at least, when considered in relation to Beaumont and Fletcher.

As, however, one play does not afford a satisfactory test,

I have also examined in this connection *Valentinian* (for Fletcher alone), *A King and no King* (for both Beaumont and Fletcher), and *The Spanish Curate* (for Fletcher and Massinger). I find that in the four plays examined, having regard to the proportions of their several contributions, Massinger uses "though" fully six times as frequently as Fletcher, and nearly seven times as frequently as Beaumont; "nor" (in the limited way in which I have taken it into consideration), more than three times as often as Beaumont, and nearly fifty per cent more than Fletcher; and "rather" (as previously specified), ten times as often as Fletcher, and two and a half times as much as Beaumont. His use of "nay" is about double, and his employment of the conjunctive "yet" slightly in excess of, that of either of the others. "Although," which is peculiar to him, occurs only in *Thierry*.

To sum up, I would say that Massinger's frequent use of "though" and "rather" (without "than") is worthy of note; but the importance of the fact lies not in the frequency of his use of these not uncommon words, but in the individual manner of his employment of them and in their relation to his syntactical methods.

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## The Spanish Curate.

I find that, by an oversight, I have not included in my remarks upon *The Spanish Curate* my notes upon the character who appears as Angelo. He serves no purpose, and appears in but two scenes. In I. 1 he speaks but twice, and his remarks might be given to Arsenio. It is to be noted that the seventeenth speech of the scene is in the first folio given to Arsenio, but correctly in the second to Ascanio. Precisely the same thing occurs again in the twenty-second, the second folio again being correct. This speech is followed by one of the two wrongly given to Angelo, the result probably of the scribe

of the playhouse copy used for the first folio realizing that it would not do for two speeches by Arsenio to come together, and altering the correct one, instead of the wrong one. Probably, in the earlier case (speech 20), he thought that Angelo should be given something to say. In II. 3, the only other scene of Angelo's appearance, he is not mentioned in the Stage Directions of the folios (which do not allow for his presence), but is addressed in the opening speech. In most of the modern editions this is given—

Angelo, Milanes, did you see this wonder?—

an inquiry to which Milanes alone replies. Angelo, as a separate entity, cannot indeed do so, since Milanes and Arsenio were the only two who had been present on the occasion referred to (II. 1). The fact is, that there is no Angelo, that he is merely an invention of the maker of the playhouse copy. In "Gerardo" there is a character named Angelo Milanes. Him the play scribe made into two by the simple insertion of a comma between the two names. M'Kerrow, therefore, in his edition of the play, rightly omits Angelo as a separate character.

Fleay makes some definite, but not entirely correct, statements regarding the two authors' differing use of names. Massinger has both Milanes and Angelo Milanes in Stage Directions. Fletcher has Milanes in Stage Directions, and Angelo Milanes in the text. Massinger calls the scene of the play Corduba, and accents it, wrongly, on the second syllable; Fletcher calls it Cordova, and there is no saying how he pronounces it, since the name occurs only in prose. Massinger has Bártolus twice; Fletcher has Bartólus once, but in two other cases the name seems to be accented on the first syllable, though one cannot speak positively on the matter. Finally, in III. 1, Fletcher calls the officer of justice the assistant, a literal but not very satisfactory translation of his title, while Massinger, in III. 3, gives him his correct Spanish title, "assistente."

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